THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

THE

HISTORY OF INDIA,

AS TOLD

BY ITS OWN HISTORIANS.

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT, K.C.B.,

EDITED AND CONTINUED

BY

PROFESSOR JOHN DOWSON, M.R.A.S.,

STAFF COLLEGE, SANDHURST.

VOL. VII.

LONDON

TRUBNER AND CO., 57 AND 59, LUDGATE HILL.

1877.

PREFACE.

THE present Volume contains the history of the reigns of Sháh-Jahán, Aurangzeb, Bahádur Shah, Jahándár Sháh, and Farrukh-Siyar, of the little brief authority of Rafí'u-d Daula and Rafí'u-d Daraját, and of the early years of the reign of Muhammad Sháh

Several works hitherto unknown to the European reader are here brought to notice. The history of the reign of Sháh Jahán is derived from the *Bádsháh-náma* of 'Abdu-l Hamíd and from other *Bádsháh-námas* and *Sháh-Jahán-námas*. The special works relating to the reign of Aurangzeb have been examined and the most interesting passages translated, but the history of his long rule, and of the subsequent times which appear in this Volume, has been derived from the great work of Kháfí Khán, a contemporary history of high and well-deserved repute This important history is well known at second-hand All European historians of the period which it covers have been greatly indebted, directly or indirectly, to its pages. Elphinstone and Grant Duff used it, and they refer to a MS. translation by "Major Gordon, of the Madras Army" It is not known what has become of this MS. trans-

lation, for the inquiries made after it have met with no success Not a line of translation had been provided by Sir H M Elliot, so this heavy labour has fallen upon the Editor, who has provided the 330 pages of print which the work occupies, as well as the long translation from the *Bádsháh-náma.*

Ample and very diversified matter remains for the concluding volume

The following is a list of the articles in this volume, with the names of their respective writers —

LXI —Pádsháh-náma of Muhammad Kazwíní—Editor
LXII —Badshah-náma of 'Abdu-l Hamíd—Editor
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ERRATA IN VOL VII

Page 31, *for* "1241 A H" *read* "1041 A H"
,, 32, *for* "1210 A H" *read* "1040 A H"
,, 33, *for* "1241 A H" *read* "1041 A H"
,, 463, *for* "Muhakkim Singh," *read* "Mohkam Singh"

HISTORIANS OF INDIA.

LXI

PÁDSHÁH-NÁMA

OF

MUHAMMAD AMÍN KAZWÍNÍ

[THE author of this work in his preface gives it the title of *Padshah-nama*, but, like several other histories of the reign of Sháh Jahán, it is often called *Shah-Jahan-nama*, and sometimes more specifically *Táríkh-i Sháh-Jahání Dah-sala*. The full name of the author is Muhammad Amín bin Abú-l Hasan Kazwíní, but he is familiarly known as Amínáí Kazwíní, Amínái Munshí, or Mirzá Amíná. He was the first who received orders to write a history of the reign of Sháh Jahán. The orders were given, as he tells us, in the eighth year of Sháh Jahán, and he completed this work, comprising the history of the first ten years of the reign, and dedicated it to Sháh Jahán in the twentieth year of that Emperor's reign.

The author in his preface says that he has divided his work into an Introduction, containing on account of the Emperor's life from his birth to his accession, a Discourse *(makala)*, comprising the history of the first ten years of his reign, and an Appendix, containing notices of holy and learned men, physicians and poets. He also mentions his intention of writing a second volume, bringing down the history to the twentieth year of Sháh Jahán's reign. But he does not appear to have carried

out his design, having probably been prevented by his appointment to a busy office, for Muhammad Sálih, in a short biography of the author, says that he was transferred to the Intelligence Department.

This history of Amínái Kazwíni has been the model upon which most of the histories of Sháh Jahan have been formed. 'Abdu-l Hamíd, the author of the *Badsháh-nama*, follows its arrangement, and although he makes no acknowledgment of the fact, his work comprises the same matter, and differs from it only in style.

Sir H. M. Elliot's MS. is a small folio of 297 pages of twenty-one lines each. It is fairly written, but all the rubrics are omitted. There is a copy in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, and three copies in the British Museum.][1]

[1] [This article has been taken almost exclusively from Mr. Morley's Catalogue of the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.]

LXII

BÁDSHÁH-NÁMA

OF

'ABDU-L HAMÍD LÁHORÍ.

[THIS is a history of the first twenty years of the reign of Sháh Jahán, composed by 'Abdu-l Hamíd Láhorí Little is known of the author, but Muhammad Sálih, in his *'Amal-i Salih* (No LXIV), informs us that 'Abdu-l Hamíd was celebrated for the beauty of his style, and that he died in 1065 A H (1654 A D) 'Abdu-l Hamíd himself says in his preface, that the Emperor desired to find an author who could write the memoirs of his reign in the style of Abú-l Fazl's *Akbar-nama*, and that he, 'Abdu-l Hamíd, had studied and greatly admired Abú-l Fazl's style He was recommended to the Emperor for the work, and was called from Patna, where he was living in retirement, to undertake the composition His patron was the excellent minister 'Allámí Sa'du-lla Khán

The contents of the work are A Preface, in which the author dedicates his work to Sháh Jahán A description of the Emperor's horoscope. A concise account of his ancestors, commencing with Timúr A brief review of the proceedings of Sháh Jahán before his accession to the throne. A detailed history of the first twenty years of the reign divided into two cycles of ten years each The work comprises, also, an enumeration of the princes of the blood royal, of the nobles of the Court, arranged according to their respective ranks, from those commanding 9000 to those of 500 horse, and an account of the

shaikhs, learned men, physicians and poets who flourished during the period embraced by the history.

The *Bádshah-nama* is the great authority for the reign of Sháh Jahán Muhammad Sálih, a younger and rival writer, speaks of the author in the highest terms, and "Kháfí Khán, the author of the *Muntakhabu-l Lubab,* has based his history of the first twenty years of Sháh Jahán's reign almost entirely on this work The greatest objection to the work is the author's style, which is of that adulterated kind introduced into India apparently by the brothers Abú-l Fazl and Faizí "[1] 'Abdu-l Hamíd was, as he himself states, a professed admirer and imitator of Abú-l Fazl's style, and when he is dealing with a subject demanding his eloquence, his style is as verbose, turgid and fulsome as that of his master Happily, however, he is not always in a magniloquent vein, but narrates simple facts in simple language, blurred only by occasional outbreaks of his laboured rhetoric

The work is most voluminous, and forms two bulky volumes of the Bibliotheca Indica, containing 1662 pages. It enters into most minute details of all the transactions in which the Emperor was engaged, the pensions and dignities conferred upon the various members of the royal family, the titles granted to the nobles, their changes of office, the augmentations of their *mansabs,* and it gives lists of all the various presents given and received on public occasions, such as the vernal equinox, the royal birthday, the royal accession, etc Thus the work contains a great amount of matter of no interest to any one but the nobles and courtiers of the time But it would not be fair to say that it is filled with these trifles, there is far too much of them but still there is a solid substratum of historical matter, from which the history of this reign has been drawn by later writers

MSS of the *Bádshah-nama* are common, and some fine copies are extant Mr Morley describes one belonging to the Royal

[1] [Col Lees, Jour R A vol III N S]

Asiatic Society as "a most excellent specimen of the Oriental art of caligraphy," and Col Lees says "The copy of the second part of the *Badsháh-náma* which has been used for this edition (Bibliotheca Indica) is the finest MS I have ever seen It is written by Muhammad Sálih Kambú, the author of the *'Amal-i Sálih*, and bears on the margin the autograph of the Emperor Sháh Jahán " The following Extracts have all been selected and translated by the Editor from the printed text.] [1]

EXTRACTS

[Text, vol. i. p. 69.] The Emperor Jahángír[2] died on the 28th Safar, A H 1037 (28th October, 1627), at the age of fifty-eight years and one month, solar reckoning Prince Shahriyár, from his want of capacity and intelligence, had got the nickname of *Na-shudani*, "Good-for-nothing," and was commonly known by that appellation He now cast aside all honour and shame, and before Sháh Jahán had started (from the Dakhin), he repudiated his allegiance, and went off in hot haste to Lahore to advance his own interests Núr Mahal, who had been the cause of much strife and contention, now clung to the vain idea of retaining the reins of government in her grasp, as she had held them during the reign of the late Emperor She wrote to Ná-shudaní, advising him to collect as many men as he could, and hasten to her

Yamínu-d daula Ásaf Khán and Irádat Khán, who always acted together, determined that, as Sháh Jahán was far away from Ágra, it was necessary to take some steps to prevent disturbances in the city, and to get possession of the princes Muhammad Dárá Shukoh, Muhammad Sháh Shujá', and Muhammad Aurangzeb, who were in the female apartments with Núr Mahal They therefore resolved that for some few days

[1] [This article has been compiled by the Editor from 'Abdu-l Hamíd's preface, Sir H M Elliot's notes, Mr Morley's notice in the Catalogue of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Col Lees' article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol iii N S]

[2] His title after death was "*Jannat-makani*"

they would raise to the throne Bulákí, the son of Khusrú, who, by Núr Mahal's contrivance, had been placed with Ná-shudaní, but who had been put under the charge of Irádat Khán by Jahángír when Ná-shudaní returned to Lahore from Kashmír * * So they placed Bulákí on horseback, and, with a party of men in whom they had full confidence, they commenced their march, taking care to keep one day ahead of Núr Mahal * * As the young princes were not safe with Núr Mahal, they removed her from the royal palace, and took the young princes under their own charge, but when Bulákí had been raised to the throne, they were placed in charge of Sádik Khán.

Accession of Shah Jahan

[Text, vol. i p 82] Sháh Jahán ascended the throne at Ágra on the 18th Jumáda-s sání, 1037 A H (6th Feb 1628), with the title of Abú-l Muzaffar Shahábu-d dín Muhammad Sáhib Kirán-i sání

Rebellion of Jajhar Singh

[Text, vol i p 238] Jajhár Singh was son of Rájá Nar Singh Deo Bundela, who rose into notice by killing Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, the celebrated author of the *Akbar-nama*, when Jahángír was heir apparent * In obedience to orders from the Emperor Akbar, the Shaikh was hastening to Court from the Dakhin with a small escort Jahángír was jealous of the Shaikh's devotion to his father, and was apprehensive that his arrival would interfere with his own plans * * So he incited Nar Singh Deo to kill him as he passed through his territory This evil-minded man, from lust of gold, placed a large force of horse and foot in ambush, and fell upon the Shaikh The followers of the Shaikh advised him to fly and escape, but he refused, and fell in the year 1011 A H (1602 A D) After the accession of Jahángír to the throne, Nar Singh Deo rose into favour and distinction through this wicked deed. But his evil nature was unable to

bear his prosperity, and towards the end of the reign of Jahángír he became disaffected, and oppressed all the *zamindars* in his neighbourhood * * He died three or four months before Jahángír, and was succeeded by his son Jajhár Singh The wealth and property which Nar Singh Deo had amassed without labour and without trouble unsettled the mind of his worthless successor Jajhár, and at the accession of Sháh Jahán, * * he left the capital A'gra, and proceeded to U'ndcha, his stronghold, where he set about raising forces, strengthening the forts, providing munitions of war and closing the roads A force was accordingly sent against him, under the command of Mahábat Khán Khán-khánán [*The Imperial forces converged upon U'ndcha, and*] Jajhár Singh, having no hope of escape, waited upon Khán-khánán and made his submission Just at this time intelligence arrived that 'Abdu-lla Khán had taken the fortress of I'rich,[1] which had been in the possession of Jajhár Singh

SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1038 A H (20TH DECEMBER, 1628 A D)

[Text, vol I p 272] The anniversary of the accession was on the 1st of Jumáda-s sání. After the death of Jahángír, and before the accession of Sháh Jahán, Khán-Jahán Lodí entered upon a dangerous and disloyal course * * He formed an alliance with Nizámu-l Mulk, and gave up to him the Bálághát in the Dakhin,[2] the revenue of which amounted to fifty-five *krors* of *dams* But Sipahdár Khán, who held Ahmadnagar, bravely and loyally refused to surrender that city Khán-Jahán summoned to his presence all the Imperial servants who were in those parts He left a small force at Burhánpúr under the command of Sikandar Dotání, who was related to him, while he himself marched with a large force to Mándu, with the intention of taking possession of

[1] 65 miles S E of Gwálior

[2] Kháfí Khán says the temptation was six *lacs* of *pagodas* —*Muntakhabu-l Lubáb*, p 411, but see *ante* Vol VI p 433

Málwa, which province was then under the government of Mír 'Abdu-r Razzák, who had received the title of Muzaffar Khán. Sháh Jahán proceeded from Ahmadábád by way of Ajmír to Ágra, and there ascended the throne. * * The news of this event awakened Khán-Jahán and brought him to a sense of his folly and wickedness Rájá Gaj Singh, Rájá Jái Singh, and other distinguished Rájpúts who had accompanied him to Mándú, parted from him when they heard of Sháh Jahán having arrived at Ajmír Thereupon Khán-Jahán wrote a letter of contrition and obedience, in the hope of obtaining forgiveness

A royal *farmán* was sent in answer, informing him that he was confirmed in the governorship of the Dakhin, and directing him to return at once to Burhánpur He then retired from Málwa to Burhánpúr, and engaged in the duties of his office But when it was reported to the Emperor that the country of Bálághát, which Khán-Jahán had given to Nizámu-l Mulk, still remained in his possession, and had not been recovered, the Emperor appointed Mahábat Khán to the governorship of the Dakhin Khán-Jahán then returned to Court The Emperor paid little heed to the reports and observations about his improper conduct, and for eight months passed no rebuke upon him. He still continued moody and discontented, and ready to listen to the incitements and suggestions of mischievous men * * One night Lashkarí, son of Mukhlis Khán, in a malicious, mischief-making spirit, told the son of Khán-Jahán that he and his father were to be made prisoners on the following day or the next * * The son told his father, whose apprehensions were instantly aroused by this malicious report, and he kept close to his quarters with two thousand Afghán followers His Majesty asked Yamínu-d daula Ásaf Khán the reason why Khán-Jahán did not attend the *darbár*, and after inquiry had been made, it was ascertained that he had fears and suspicions, and he begged for a letter under the Emperor's signature, forgiving him all his offences, and relieving him from all his fears * * The

Emperor graciously acceded to his request, and sent him a kind letter under his own hand He then came to Court and paid his respects But Fortune was aggrieved with him, and so his perverse temper prevented him from appreciating the Emperor's kindness

On the night of Safar 26, the men of Yamínu-d daula brought in the intelligence that Khán-Jahán meditated flight, and he sent to inform the Emperor * * After the first watch of the night, Khán-Jahán, with his nephew Bahádur and other relations and adherents, began his flight As soon as the Emperor was informed of it, he sent Khwája Abú-l Hasan and * * in pursuit of the fugitive Unmindful of the smallness of their own force and the numbers of the Afgháns, they followed them and overtook them in the vicinity of Dholpúr[1] The fugitives saw their road of escape was closed, for the waters of the Chambal were before them and the fire of the avenging sword behind So they posted themselves in the rugged and difficult ground on the bank of the river, and, fearing to perish in the waters, they resolved upon battle * * [*After many were killed and wounded*], Khán-Jahán, with his two sons and several followers, resolved to hazard the passage of the Chambal, although the water was running high He and his followers, wounded and unwounded, in great peril and with great exertion, succeeded in crossing over, thus escaping from the fire of battle and the waters of the stream Many horses and much baggage fell into the hands of the royal forces * * A party gathered to follow up the fugitives, but on reaching the bank of the river, it was found that it could not be crossed without boats, and an endeavour was made to collect some. Khwája Abú-l Hasan came up when one *pahar* of the day remained, and after consultation it was resolved to stay there for the night, and rest the horses, which had made a long and fatiguing march Boats were collected, and the whole force passed over before noon next day, and recommenced

[1] Dholpúr is about thirty-five miles from Ágra near the left bank of the Chambal

the chase But the fugitives pressed forward with all haste, and threw themselves into the jungles of Jajhár Singh Bundela

When the traitor (Khán-Jahán) entered the territory of Jajhár Singh Bundela, that chieftain was absent in the Dakhin, but his eldest son Bikramájít was at home, and sent the rebel out of the territory by unfrequented roads If Bikramájít had not thus favoured his escape, he would have been either taken prisoner or killed He proceeded to Gondwána, and after staying there some time in disappointment and obscurity, he proceeded by way of Birár to the country of Burhán Nizámu-l Mulk

THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1039 A H (1629 A D)

[Text, vol i p 300] On the 21st Ramazán Khwája Abú-l Hasan and * * * altogether about 8000 horse, were sent to effect the conquest of Násik and Trimbak[1] and Sangamnír It was settled that the Khwája was to stay at some suitable position near the fort of Alang[2] during the rainy season until he was joined by Sher Khán from the province of Gujarát with his provincial levies After the end of the rains he was to march by way of Bagláua, and, taking with him some of the *zamíndárs* of the country, make his way to Násik. The Khwája marched from Burhánpúr, and in eight days reached the village of Dholiya,[3] near the fort of Alang, and there halted until the rains should cease * * Sher Khán, Súbadár of Gujarát, joined with 26,000 men, and the Khwája sent him to attack the fort of Bátora, in the vicinity of Chándor, near Násik and Trimbak Sher Khán ravaged the country, and returned with great spoil

Murder of Jadú Rai

[Text, vol i p. 308] Jádú Rái, with his sons, grandsons,

[1] This name is here written ترنبگ, but afterwards ترنبک The real name is Tirambak or Trimbak It is a little west of Násik

[2] The text here has "Lalang," but afterwards "Alang"

[3] About half way between Burhánpúr and Násik

and other relations, held altogether from the Imperial Government *mansabs* amounting to 24,000 (personal), and 15,000 horse He also had sundry *jágírs* in the Dakhin as *tankhwáh*, so that he lived in wealth and comfort But he was fickle and unfaithful, and went with his sons and relations to join the Nizám. But the Nizám well knew his perfidy, and resolved to put him in confinement For this purpose the Nizám arranged with some of his servants to seize Jádú Rái, and he summoned him to his presence Accordingly Jádú attended the Court with his family. The armed men who were in concealment suddenly attacked them, and killed him, his two sons Ujlá and Raghu, and his grandson Baswant His brother Jagdeo Rái, with Bahádur-jí his son, his wife and the others who escaped, fled from Daulatábád to Sindghar, near Jálnapúr,[1] in their native country

Campaign against Nizam Sháh and Khan-Jahan

[Text, vol i. p 316] 7th Rabí'u-l awwal When the rains were over, 'Azam Khán and the great nobles who were with him left Dewalgánw,[2] where they had rested during the rainy season, and marched against the rebel Afghans * *

At the conclusion of the rains, Khwaja Abú-l Hasan also, according to orders, marched from the vicinity of the fort of Alang by way of Baglána towards Násik and Trimbak When he reached Baglána, the *zamíndar* of that country, by name Bahar-jí, met him with four hundred horse * * The Khwája entered the enemy's country by way of the ghát of Jaráhí He found that the revenue officers and *raiyats* had left their villages, and had retired into the jungles and hills So the country was desolate, corn was dear, and the soldiers of the royal army were in want of necessaries The Khwája then sent detached forces into the hills, and also into the inhabited country, and they returned from each raid with abundance of corn and other necessaries, having killed or taken prisoners many of the enemy The

[1] Or Jálná, east of Aurangábád [2] About 60 miles S of Burhánpúr

Be-Nizám[1] now appointed Mahaldár Khán with a party of horse and foot to vex the royal army at night with rockets He was also directed to attack the parties sent out to gather fuel and fodder, and to carry off their camels and bullocks whenever he could get a chance. Sháh-nawáz Khán was sent against those assailants, and he, making a forced march of twenty *kos*, attacked them and put them to flight, and returned with great plunder The Khwája next sent Khán-zamán to attack the enemy's camp at Sangamnír This force made forced marches, and reached the camp of the enemy, who dispersed and fled to the fort of Chándor. * *

At the close of the rains, the royal army left its quarters in Dewalgánw, and marched forth against the Nizám-Sháhís and the Afgháns On hearing of this, Mukarrab Khán and the other rebels left Jálnapúr, where they had passed the rainy season, and retreated towards Páthrí [2] 'Azam Khán, being informed of their retreat, followed them march by march When he reached the village of Rámbhúrí, on the Bán-ganga river, he learnt that the Nizám-Sháhís had ascended the Bálághát at Dhárúr,[3] and had taken refuge in the fort of that place, while Khán-Jahán had not yet left his quarters at Bír [3] Khán-Jahán, having been informed of the movements of the Imperial army, called in a detachment which he had sent to collect the revenues in the dependencies of Bír, and awaited the arrival of reinforcements from Mukarrab Khán, who was at Dhárúr 'Azam Khán conceived the design of attacking the forces of the rebel Khán before the reinforcements could reach him, so he marched from Rámbhúrí to Mahgánw Here he received a message from Saf-shikan Khán Razwí, commandant of the fort of Bír, informing him that Khán-Jahán was at Rájaurí, twenty-four *kos* from Machhlí-gánw, employed in dividing the spoil which his predatory followers had obtained by plundering the merchants at Kehún and Kíorái

[1] "No ruler" This is the nickname which the author invariably uses in referring to Nizám Shah

[2] Between the Purna and Godavarí rivers, about thirty miles from their junction

[3] Bír and Dhárúr both lie on the road east of Ahmadnagar

Several detachments which had been sent out to make collections had rejoined him, and as he had heard of the arrival of the Imperial army at Páthrí, he had made up his mind to move off as soon as it came nearer to Bír.

'Azam Khán left a detachment in charge of his camp at Machhlí-gánw to follow him quietly while he marched off after night-fall to attack the rebels. Four *gharis* of night remained when he reached Pípalnír, six *kos* from Bír, when he directed Saf-shikan Khán to make a demonstration with his force on Khán-Jahán's flank, so that he might think this small force to be the whole of the royal army, and refrain from moving away Saf-shikan Khán accordingly drew out his force upon a ridge about a *kos* in front of the rebel army, which had taken post at the foot of the hills about four *kos* from Bír 'Azíz, son of Khán-Jahán, advanced to attack Saf-shikan with a body of his father's troops, and at this juncture 'Azam Khán came up with the main body of the royal army, and 'Azíz was compelled to fall back in disorder to his father, whom he informed that the force which had first shown itself was Saf-shikan Khán's division, and that the whole of the royal army was coming up with all possible haste

Khán-Jahán, when he found that his retreat was cut off, determined to fight it out * * But the royal troops forced their way to the top of the hill Khán-Jahán sent away the elephant litter with his women to Síú-gánw,[1] and then rallied his troops for a struggle He sent his nephew Bahádur, in whose courage and daring he had great confidence, against Bahádur Khán and some others of the royal army, who, being few in number, were very hard pressed. They dismounted, and, resolving to sell their lives dearly, they kept up a desperate struggle, and slew many of the enemy Bahádur Khán received two wounds from arrows, one in his face, the other in his side, and several of his comrades were slain[2] Narhar Dás also and

[1] About 40 miles N E of Ahmadnagar

[2] Or as the author grandiloquently expresses it "The field of battle having been made dark as night by the clouds of dust, his companions cast themselves like moths upon the flames of the fire-flashing swords"

many Rájpúts fell Sipahdár Khán and others, who had mounted the hill on the right, seeing the state of the battle, took shelter behind a stone wall, and kept up a discharge of arrows Rájá Bihár Singh Bundela now came up from the right wing to support Bahádur Khán He joined valiantly in the struggle, and many of his men were killed Rájá Jái Singh and other rájás who were on another part of the hill, also joined in the fight 'Azam Khán next came up in haste, and ordered a part of the left wing to advance At this time, when many of the Imperial officers had fallen, and the result seemed doubtful, the favour of Heaven fell upon the royal forces The ill-starred Bahádur, observing the successive arrivals of reinforcements for his adversaries, lost heart, and turned to flee with his Afghans His father also fled As the discomfited rebels hurried down the hill, they were harassed by showers of arrows and bullets A ball struck Bahádur Khán, and he was unable to continue his flight Paras Rám, a servant of Rájá Bihár Singh's, came up and despatched him with his dagger, then he cut off his head, and sent it with his ring, horse and weapons, to Rájá Bihár Singh, who forwarded them to 'Azam Khán The Khán gave the horse to the man who had slain Bahádur, the ring he sent to the Emperor, and the head he caused to be set up as a warning over the gate of Bír

The royal forces pursued the fugitives for three *kos*, and put many of them to the sword But as the victors had been in the saddle from the first watch in the evening of one day to the third watch of the next day, and had marched more than thirty *kos*, men and beasts were both worn out, and were unable to go further 'Azam Khán then called a halt, to allow of a little rest, and to give stragglers time to come up

Khán-Jahán and his followers, whose horses were fresh, took advantage of this to improve their distance, but 'Azam Khán sent Muhammad Dakhni and the forces that were in Bír to maintain the pursuit, and he himself, after a brief interval, followed with the main force When Khán-Jahán learnt that the victors were in full pursuit, he removed his ladies from the

howda in which they had been carried by a female elephant, and mounting them on horses rode away with them. Darwesh Muhammad, with a party of pursuers, captured the elephant and *howda*, and made a number of Afghāns and their women prisoners. Most of Khán-Jahán's men who escaped were wounded, and in their panic they were able to carry off nothing but the clothes they wore and the horses they rode. Khán-Jahán, with a few faithful followers, escaped into the hill-country. * * 'Azam Khán halted at Bír, to give his army a little rest. * * Khán-Jahán then proceeded from Síú-gánw to Bízápur[1] and Bhonsla, in the Nizám-Sháhí territory, with the design of going to Daulatábád. On hearing of this movement, 'Azam Khán marched from Bír towards Síú-gánw with 20,000 horse.

At this time, Sáhú-jí Bhonsla, son-in-law of Jádú Rái, the Hindu commander of Nizám Sháh's army, came in and joined 'Azam Khán. After the murder of Jádú Rái, which has been mentioned above, Sáhú-jí broke off his connexion with Nizám Sháh, and, retiring to the districts of Púna and Chákna, he wrote to 'Azam Khán, proposing to make his submission upon receiving a promise of protection. 'Azam Khán wrote to Court, and received orders to accept the proposal. Sáhú-jí then came and joined him with two thousand horse. He received a *mansab* of 5000,[2] a *khil'at*, a gift of two *lacs* of rupees, and other presents. His brother Mína-jí received a robe and a *mansab* of 3000 personal and 1500 horse. Sámají son of Sáhú-ji, also received a robe and a *mansab* of 2000 personal and 1000 horse. Several of their relations and dependents also obtained gifts and marks of distinction.

Khán-Jahán and Daryá Khán, when they heard of the march of the Imperial forces towards Síú-gánw, quitted Bízápúr and Bhonsla, and went to the village of Lásúr, ten *kos* from Daulatábád. Nizám Sháh also, on being informed of this advance, withdrew from Nizámábád, which he had built outside of the fort

[1] About 25 miles W. of Aurangábad.

[2] "6000 personal and 5000 horse."—*Khafi Khan*, p. 435.

of Daulatábád, and around which his adherents had built various houses and edifices, and entered into the fort itself Khán-Jahán and Daryá Khán, no longer deeming it safe to remain at Lásúr, went to Ír-Kahtala, half a *kos* from Daulatábád, and a few days later Khán-Jahán removed his family to Aubásh-darra, a place within cover of Daulatábád Daryá Khán, with a thousand Afgháns, separated from Khán-Jahán, marched towards Chándor, and the ghát of Chális-gánw,[1] with the intention of attacking Andol and Dharan-gánw

This movement being reported to the Emperor, * * he appointed 'Abdu-lla Khán, whom he had summoned from the Bálághát, to act against Daryá Khán, and sent him off on the 10th Jumáda-l awwal Daryá Khán had ravaged Andol, Dharan-gánw, and sundry other places of the Páyín-ghát of Chális-gánw, but on hearing of the approach of 'Abdu-lla Khán, he turned back to the Bálághát Want of rain and the ravages of the Nizám-Sháhís and Afgháns, had made provisions very scarce about Daulatábád, so 'Azam Khán did not deem it prudent to advance in that direction, but thought it preferable to march against Mukarrab Khán and Bahlol, who were at Dhárúr and Amba-jogáí, in which plan of operations he was confirmed by a letter from Yamínu-d daula, who was at Ojhar So he marched towards the ghát by way of Mánik-dúdh (*After some fighting*) the royal forces ascended the ghát and took the village of Dáman-gánw, twenty *kos* from Ahmadnagar Next day they marched to Jamkhír,[2] in the Nizám-Sháhí territories * * Leaving a force there, he next day proceeded to Tilangí The garrison of the fort there had set it in order, and opened fire upon him * * But in the course of one watch he took it by assault, put many of the defenders to the sword, took nearly five hundred prisoners, and captured all the munitions of the fort When the royal forces reached the banks of the Wanjara,[3] twelve *kos* from the fort of

[1] About 25 miles E of Chándor, and the same N W of Aurangábád
[2] About 30 miles S E of Aurangábád
[3] Called in the maps "Manjira"

Dhárúr, they found that Mukarrab Khán and his confederates had passed down the pass of Anjan-dúdh, and had gone to the neighbourhood of Bír 'Azam Khán then sent Sáhú-jí Bhonsla to take possession of the districts around Junír and Sangamnír, whilst he himself, with the main force, went through the pass of Ailam to the town of Bír, and proceeded from thence to Partúr, on the bank of the river Dúdna The enemy then fled towards Daulatábád But 'Azam Khán learnt that scarcity of provisions prevented them from remaining in that vicinity, and that they had moved off towards the Bálághát, by way of Dhárúr. He then determined to intercept and attack them But he found that the enemy, having placed their elephants and beggage in the fort of Dhárúr, had the design of descending the Páyín-ghat So he went through the pass of Anjan-dúdh, and encamped three *kos* from Dhárúr.

Capture of the Fort of Mansúr-garh

[Text, vol i p. 332] In the course of the past year, Bákir Khán had proceeded to the pass of Kherá pára, two *kos* from Chhatar-dawár This is a very narrow pass, between the territories of Kutbu-l Mulk and Orissa, and a small force of musketeers and archers might hold it in security He ravaged the country round, but when the rains set in, he retired without making any attempt upon the fort of Mansúr-garh, which a slave of Kutbu-l Mulk's, named Mansúr, had built about four *kos* from Kherá-pára After the rains, under the royal orders, he again marched to Kherá-pára Sher Muhammad, and other officers of Kutbu-l Mulk, had collected about 3000 horse and 10,000 foot, and having strengthened the fort with guns, muskets, and other implements of warfare, they made ready for battle * * On the 8th Jumáda-l awwal, Bákir Khán arrived in the vicinity of Mansúr-garh, and found the enemy drawn up in a plain north-east of the fort * * The enemy were unable to withstand the assault of the royal forces, but broke and fled. Flushed with victory, Bákir Khán

resolved to attack the fort Notwithstanding a heavy fire of cannons and muskets, he advanced to the base of the walls, planted his scaling-ladders, and began to ascend The garrison being dismayed, took grass between their teeth, as is the manner of that country, and begged for quarter. Bákir Khán allowed them to march out in safety, and then placed a garrison of his own in the fort

Flight of Khán-Jahán

[Text, vol. i p. 334] The territories of Nizámu-l Mulk, had suffered severely from the inroads of the Imperial forces in pursuit of Khán-Jahán, and mistrust and differences had arisen between the Nizám and Khán-Jahán , so the latter, in concert with Daryá Khán, his chief adherents, and his remaining sons, resolved to retire to the Panjáb, in order to seek the means of carrying on his insurrection among the disaffected Afgháns of that country. So he left Daulatábád and proceeded towards Málwa The Emperor, by his sagacity and foresight, had anticipated such a movement, and had sent 'Abdu-alla Khán to Málwa, in order to chastise Daryá Khán After Daryá had returned to the Bálághát, 'Abdu-lla Khán was directed to wait at the Páyín-ghát, and to hasten after Daryá Khán, wherever he might hear of him Having got intelligence of his movements, 'Abdu-lla Khán went after him, and reported the facts to Court

On the 24th Jumáda-l awwal, the Emperor * * appointed Saiyid Muzaffar Khán to support 'Abdu-lla Khán, * * * and on the 25th Rabí'u-l awwal, he marched towards Málwa He was directed to proceed by way of Bijágarh, and to cross the Nerbadda near Mándú * * If he found 'Abdu-lla Khán there, he was directed to join him He marched with all speed, and crossed the Nerbadda at Akbarpúr 'Abdu-lla Khán having heard that Khán-Jahán had crossed at Dharampúr,[1] he crossed the river at the same ford, and encamped at Loníhara There he ascertained that on the 28th Jumáda-l awwal, Khán-Jahán had

[1] S W of Mándu

moved off. He then proceeded to Dípálpúr,[1] where he learnt that the rebels were plundering the neighbourhood of Ujjain, and he marched to Núláhí[2] in search of them.

Fourth Year of the Reign, 1040 A.H. (1630 A.D.).

Flight of Khán-Jahan

[Text, vol. i. p. 338.] On the 4th, 'Abdu-lla Khán reached Núláhí, and Saiyid Muzaffar Khán, having left Dípálpúr, reached Mankod on the 5th, on his way to Mandisor, when he learnt that the rebels had turned off to the right. On the 6th, he again marched, and came to Tál-gánw, and on that day 'Abdu-lla Khán came up from the rear and joined him. There they heard that the rebels were ten *kos* distant the day before, and had moved off that very morning. So they hastened off in pursuit. On the 10th they encamped at Khiljípúr, and ascertained that the rebels were moving towards Sironj. The royal forces reached Sironj on the 14th, and found that the rebels had come there two days previously. Khwája Bábá-e Áftáb got into the city just before their arrival, and joining Khwája 'Abdu-l Hádí, who was in the place, beat off the rebels, who only succeeded in carrying off fifty of the royal elephants.

Khán-Jahán and Daryá Khán now found the roads closed on all sides against them. Every day that came they looked upon as their last, so in their despair they proceeded on the right from Sironj, and entered the country of the Bundela, intending to push on to Kálpí. Jajhár Singh Bundela had incurred the royal censure because his son Bikramájít had allowed Khán-Jahán on his flight from Ágra to pass through his territory and so reach the Dakhin. Bikramájít, to atone for his fault, and to remove the disgrace of his father, went in pursuit of the fugitives, and on the 17th came up with the rear-guard under Daryá Khán, and attacked it with great vigour. That doomed one, under the intoxication of temerity or of wine, disdained to fly, and in his

[1] Between Mándú and Ujjain.
[2] "Noulái" or "Nowlye," 60 miles N. of Mándu.

turn attacked. A musket-ball pierced his brainless skull, and his son was also killed The Bundelas attacked him under the impression that he was Khán-Jahán, but that crafty one hastened from the field in another direction Bikramájít cut off the head of Daryá Khán, and also of his son, and sent them to Court, thus atoning for his former fault Nearly four hundred Afghans and two hundred Bundelas were slain in the fight For this service Bikramájít received the title of Jag-ráj, and was advanced to the dignity of 2000 personal and 2000 horse

Capture of the Fort of Dharúr

[Text, vol. i p 339] 'Azam Khán, having ascended the pass of Anjan-dúdh, encamped three *kos* from Dhárúr He then directed Multafit Khán and others to make an attack upon the town of Dhárúr and its *petta,* where once a week people from all parts, far and near, were accustomed to meet for buying and selling The fort of Dhárur was celebrated throughout the Dakhin for its strength and munitions of war It was built upon the top of a ridge, and deep rivers of difficult passage ran on two sides of it It was so secure that any effort upon it by the royal army was likely to prove unsuccessful, so Marhamat Khán was directed to plunder the town and *petta,* but not to make any attempt upon the fortress * * * The garrison became disheartened, and remiss in their duty * * On the 23rd Jumáda-s sání Marhamat Khán made his way in with a party of men, and opened the wicket 'Azam Khán then entered with all his officers, and nearly two thousand men scaled the walls and got into the fort All the vast munitions, the jewels, etc, became spoil of war.

Death of Khán-Jahán Lodí

[p 348] The unhappy Khán-Jahán was greatly distressed and dismayed by the death of Daryá Khan Having no hope except in evasion, he fled and sought obscurity, but the royal forces pursued him closely. On the 28th Jumáda-s sání, on arriving at

the village of Nímí, in the country of Bhánder,[1] the royal army learned that Khán-Jahán was about eight *kos* from that place The long march they had made, and the company of many men who had been wounded in Jag-ráj's action, prevented the royal forces from marching very early, but they drew near to the rebel

Khán-Jahán, on hearing of their approach, sent off some of his Afgháns, whose horses were knocked up, with the little baggage that was left; while he himself, with nearly a thousand horse, prepared to encounter Muzaffar Khán The fight was sharp, great valour was exhibited, and many fell on both sides. * * Khán-Jahán was wounded, his son Mahmúd was killed with many of his followers, and further resistance was useless, so he again fled Being hard pressed, he was every now and then obliged to abandon an elephant, so that before reaching Kálinjar twenty elephants had fallen into the hands of the pursuers, and some were caught by Rájá Amar Singh of Bándher When Khán-Jahán approached Kálinjar, Saiyid Ahmad, the commandant of that fortress, came out to attack him. He killed several men, and took some prisoners Hasan, another son of Khán-Jahán, was made prisoner, with him were captured twenty-two of the royal elephants, which Khán-Jahán had taken at Sironj Khán-Jahán lost his *tugh* and banner, and fled with a handful of followers By great exertion he travelled twenty *kos* that day, and reached the borders of Sahenda,[2] where he was to end his mortal life 'Abdu-lla Khán Bahádur and Saiyid Muzaffar Khán pursued him closely with their forces in array

Khán-Jahán was much afflicted at the loss of his sons and faithful followers All hope of escape was cut off, so he told his followers that he was weary of life, that he had reached the end of his career, and there was no longer any means

[1] The text has Bándhú Kháfí Khán (vol i p 40) calls it "Bhándúr," but a MS has Bhánder, which is right It lies N E of Jhánsí —*Áín-i Akbarí*, vol ii p 505

[2] "The tank of Sindraha"—*Kháfí Khán*, vol i p 44 Blochmann gives the name as "Sehonda" It lies north of Kálinjar on the Ken.—*Áín-i Akbarí*, vol i p 505

of deliverance for him, he desired, therefore, that every man should make off as best he could A few determined to stand by him to the last, but many fled The advanced forces of the royal army under Mádhú Singh now came up. Khán-Jahán, with his son 'Azíz, who was the dearest of all, and Aimal, and the Afghans who remained constant, placed their two remaining elephants in front, and advanced to meet Muzaffar Khán They made their charge, and when Khán-Jahán found that they were determined to take him, he alighted from his horse and fought desperately In the midst of the struggle Mádhú Singh pierced him with a spear, and before Muzaffar Khán could come up the brave fellows cut Khán-Jahán, his dear son 'Azíz and Aimal, to pieces. About a hundred of his adherents fell, and their heads were cut off, but a party escaped A grandson of Saiyid Muzaffar Khan and twenty-seven other royalists were slain The heads of Khán-Jahán, 'Azíz, and Aimal were sent to the Imperial Court. Faríd, a son of Khán-Jahán, was taken and placed in confinement Another son, named Ján-i Jahán, had fled and taken refuge in Sahenda with the mother of Bahádur Khán 'Abdu-lla Khán sent for him, and then despatched him in custody to Court * * * The heads of the rebels were placed over the gate of the fort After their victory, 'Abdu-lla Khán and Saiyid Muzaffar Khán came to Court, and received many marks of favour The former was advanced to a *mansab* of 6000 and 6000 horse, and he received the title Fíroz-Jang Saiyid Muzaffar Khán was promoted to a *mansab* of 5000 and 5000 horse He received the title Khán-Jahán.

Attack on Parenda

[Text, vol i p 356.] 'Azam Khán was in the neighbourhood of Parenda,[1] intent upon the reduction of that fortress, and the capture of the elephants and stores which had been sent there * * He sent Rájá Jái Singh with a detachment to ravage the town

[1] Near the Sína river on the route from Ahmadnagar to Sholapur It is about sixty miles S W of Dhárúr

and *petta* The Rájá first plundered the *petta*, which was about a *kos* distant on the left of the fortress. He then attacked the town, which was surrounded by a mud *(khám)* wall five *gaz* high and three *gaz* thick, and by a ditch of three cubits *(sih zará')* broad (?) He broke through the walls by means of his elephants, and the musketeers of the garrison then fled into the ditch of the fort The town was plundered 'Azam Khán then arrived, * * * and entered the town, to secure the elephants belonging to the enemy, which had been taken into the ditch of the fortress Seven elephants were seized and brought out, and much other booty was secured * * 'Azam Khán pressed the siege, and the troops drove zigzags[1] up to the edge of the ditch in three places, and began to fill it up. He raised a battery exactly opposite the gate of the fortress, at the distance of an arrow-shot from the moat He then pushed his zigzags to the very edge of the moat, and there raised a battery, to which the men in the Sher-Hájí[2] found it very difficult to reply

It now became evident that 'Ádil Khán, through his tender years, had no real power, but that the reins of government were in the hands of a slave named Daulat, who had been originally a minstrel *(kuláwant)*, and whom the King's father, Ibráhím 'Ádil, had ennobled with the title of Daulat Khán, and had placed in command of the fortress of Bíjápúr This ungrateful infamous fellow, after the death of Ibráhím, assumed the title "Khawáss Khán," and delivered the government over to a mischievous turbulent *brahman*, named Murárí Pandit This same Daulat put out the eyes of Darwesh Muhammad, the eldest son of Ibráhím 'Ádil Khán by the daughter of Kutbu-l Mulk, and demanded his daughter in marriage, thus bringing to infamy the name and honour of his indulgent patron. The 'Ádil-Khánís and the Nizám-Sháhís had now made common cause and were united.

[1] "*Kúcha-e salamat*," ways of safety

[2] This is not a proper name There was a Sher-Hájí also at Kandahár (see post p 26), and at many other places It is apparently an advanced work, and probably bears the name of its inventor

The siege of Parenda had gone on for a month. Provender had throughout been difficult to procure, and now no grass was to be found within twenty *kos* So 'Azam Khán was obliged to raise the siege, and to go to Dhárúr * * * The 'Ádil-Khánís retreated before 'Azam Khán, and he encamped on the banks of the Wanjira. Next day he captured the town and fort of Bální, which the inhabitants defended in the hope of receiving assistance After plundering the place, he marched to Mándú,[1] and from Mándú to Dhárúr

Famine in the Dakhin and Gujarát

[Text, vol i p 362] During the past year no rain had fallen in the territories of the Bálághát, and the drought had been especially severe about Daulatábád In the present year also there had been a deficiency in the bordering countries, and a total want in the Dakhin and Gujarát The inhabitants of these two countries were reduced to the direst extremity Life was offered for a loaf,[2] but none would buy , rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it , the ever-bounteous hand was now stretched out to beg for food , and the feet which had always trodden the way of contentment walked about only in search of sustenance For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh, and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold When this was discovered, the sellers were brought to justice. Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The numbers of the dying caused obstructions in the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries Those lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of productiveness * * * The Emperor in his gracious kindness and bounty directed the officials of Burhánpúr, Ahmadábád, and the

[1] So in the text, but the maps give no such name between Parenda and Dhárúr

[2] "*Jane ba nane*"

country of Súrat, to establish soup kitchens, or alms-houses, such as are called *langar* in the language of Hindústán, for the benefit of the poor and destitute. Every day sufficient soup and bread was prepared to satisfy the wants of the hungry It was further ordered that so long as His Majesty remained at Burhánpúr 5000 rupees should be distributed among the deserving poor every Monday, that day being distinguished above all others as the day of the Emperor's accession to the throne Thus, on twenty Mondays one *lac* of rupees was given away in charity Ahmadábád had suffered more severely than any other place, and so His Majesty ordered the officials to distribute 50,000 rupees among the famine-stricken people Want of rain and dearness of grain had caused great distress in many other countries So under the directions of the wise and generous Emperor taxes amounting to nearly seventy *lacs* of rupees were remitted by the revenue officers—a sum amounting to nearly eighty *krors* of *dams*, and amounting to one-eleventh part of the whole revenue. When such remissions were made from the exchequer, it may be conceived how great were the reductions made by the nobles who held *jagirs* and *mansabs*

Capture of the Fort of Sitúnda

[Text, vol i p 370] Sipahdár Khán, after obtaining possession of the fort of Taltam (by the treachery of the garrison), laid siege to Sitúnda[1] by command of the Emperor, and pressed the place very hard Sídí Jamál, the governor, offered to surrender on terms which were agreed to, so he and his family came out, and the fort passed into the possession of the Imperialists

Capture of Kandahár

[p 374] Nasírí Khán had been placed in command of a force, with instructions to conquer the kingdom of Telingána He resolved upon reducing the fort of Kandahár,[2] which was exceedingly

[1] About fifty miles N E from Aurangábád

[2] About seventy-five miles E of Dhárúr, and twenty-five S W of Nander

strong, and the most famous one of that country It was under the command of Sádik, the son of Yákút Khudáwand Khán, and was in full state of preparation On the 23rd Jumáda-l awwal he encamped one *kos* from the fortress Next day he prepared to attack the town of Kandahár; but before reaching the place he was opposed by Sarfaráz Khán, the general commanding in that country, who had taken up a position between the fort and the town, and having covered his front with artillery, awaited the attack He was protected also by the guns and muskets of the fortress The royal army attacked with great vigour, and killed a great many of the enemy. Sarfaráz Khán with a few followers fled to the Nizám-Sháhís. After this Nasírí Khán pushed on the siege * * * Randaula, Mukarrab Khán, and others, with a united force of 'Ádil-Khánís and Nizám-Sháhís, came up to attack him in his trenches Undismayed by this fresh enemy, he boldly faced his assailants, and although he had also to bear the fire of the guns and muskets of the fortress, he defeated them with considerable loss, and compelled them to fall back a distance of three *kos*

Out of twenty-one mines which had been opened, six were complete, three were charged with powder, and three were kept in reserve 'Azam Khán, who had marched to support Nasírí Khán, now approached, and Nasírí Khán went forth to meet him, and to bring him to see the springing of the mines and the assault upon the fortress The match was applied to the three mines, one failed, but the other two brought down the wall of the Sher-Hájí with half a bastion The garrison kept up a discharge of rockets, mortars, stones and grenades, but the storming parties pressed on The conflict raged from mid-day till sunset, but the wall of the fortress was not sufficiently levelled, and the defenders kept up such a heavy fire that the assailants were forced to retire. At night the trenches were carried forward, and preparations were made for firing the other mines The garrison saw that the place must fall, and * * * made offers of surrender, which were accepted, and the

Imperial troops took possession of the fortress * * The siege had lasted four months and nineteen days, and the place fell on the 15th Shawwál

Death of the Queen 'Ahyá Begam

[Text, vol i p 384] On the 17th Zí-l ka'da, 1040, died Nawab 'Ahyá Begam,[1] in the fortieth year of her age, to the great grief of her husband the Emperor * * * She had borne him eight sons and six daughters The third child and eldest son was Muhammad Dárá Shukoh, the fourth Muhammád Sháh Shujá', the sixth Muhammad Aurangzeb, the tenth Murád Bakhsh.

Nizám Sháh

[p 395] A letter from Sipahdár Khán informed the Emperor how Fath Khán, feeling that his release from confinement by Nizám Sháh had been a matter of necessity, and that he would be imprisoned again as soon as his master's mind was at ease, he had resolved to be beforehand with him, and had placed Nizám Sháh in confinement, as his father Malik 'Ambar had done before * * * Fath Khán then addressed a letter to Yamínu-d daula Ásaf Khán, informing him that he had placed Nizám Sháh in confinement on account of his evil character and his enmity to the Imperial throne, for which act he hoped to receive some mark of favour In answer he was told that if he wished to prove his sincerity, he should rid the world of such a worthless and wicked being On receiving this direction, Fath Khán secretly made away with Nizám Sháh, but gave out that he had died a natural death He placed Nizám Sháh's son Husain, a lad of ten years old, on the throne as his successor He reported these facts to the Imperial Court, and was directed to send the jewels and valuables of the late king, and his own eldest son as a hostage.

[1] Otherwise called "Mumtáz Mahal" She died in childbirth —*Kháfi Khan*, vol i p 459

Operations against 'Ádil Khán

[Text, vol i p 404] Muhammad 'Ádil Khán (of Bíjápúr), through youth, inexperience, and evil counsellors, especially a slave named Daulat (who had assumed the title of Khawáss Khán), had shown himself unfaithful to the Imperial throne, and regardless of the allegiance paid by his father The Emperor commissioned Yamínu-d daula Ásaf Khán to arouse him from his negligence and disregard of his duty. Ásaf Khán was empowered to demand from him a return to obedience and the payment of tribute [1] If he agreed to these terms, he was to be left alone, if not, as much as possible of his territory was to be conquered, and the rest laid waste.

FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1041 A H (1631 A D)

Campaign against Bijapur

[p 411] Ásaf Khán proceeded on his expedition, and arrived at Nánder, where he remained two days There he left the main part of his army, and proceeded express to the fort of Kandahár, which he inspected One stage further on he came to the fort of Bhálkí [2] * * * Orders were given for the reduction of the place, and entrenchments were commenced, but it was resolved to attempt the capture of the place by escalade at night The garrison got notice of this, and evacuated the place under cover of darkness * * * Ásaf Khán then marched towards Kalánor, a flourishing place belonging to 'Ádil Khán When he arrived at Sultánpúr, near the city of Kulbarga, the general in command had taken the principal inhabitants into the fort of Kulbarga, which was well armed with guns, muskets, and other instruments of war Next day 'Azam Khán, under the directions of Ásaf Khán, made an attack upon the town, and carried it, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the fort

[1] The *Sháh-Jahan-nama* says that the surrender of the fort of Parenda was to be also required

[2] Twenty-fives miles N W of Bidr

The victors plundered whatever they could lay their hands on, and captured many horses in the ditch of the fortress Ásaf Khán did not deem it expedient to attempt the reduction of the fortress, as it would have been a difficult undertaking and a cause of delay, so he retired, and encamped near the river Nahnúrá. Then he advanced to the vicinity of Bíjápúr, and encamped on the borders of a tank between Nauras-púr[1] and Sháhpúr The enemy every day came out of the ditch into the plain, and there was a warm interchange of rockets, arrows, and musketry But although the enemy kept up also a heavy fire from the fortifications, they were regularly driven back to the shelter of the walls

Ásaf Khán used to take every precaution for the safety of the detachments which went out every day to collect fodder, but the army was large and the animals numerous, so this was no easy matter

The enemy were constantly on the alert, and struck whenever they got an opportunity * * * At the beginning a man named Shaikh Dabír, one of the confidants of Khawáss Khán, came out with overtures of peace and offers of tribute, but as they were not worthy of trust, they were rejected. Afterwards Mustafá Khán, son-in-law of Mullá Muhammad Lahorí, kept up a secret correspondence with Ásaf Khán, expressing his devotion and proposing to admit the Imperial troops into the fortress. * * * After much negociation, it was agreed that Mustafá Khán and Khairiyat Khán Habshí, uncle of Randaula, should come to Ásaf Khán and arrange for the transmission of tribute and the settlement of the terms of peace Accordingly both came out of Bijápur, * * * and it was finally agreed that 'Ádil Khán should send tribute to the value of forty *lacs* of rupees in jewels, valuables, elephants, and money, and that he should ever after remain faithful to his allegiance A treaty in these terms was accordingly drawn up * * * The two negociators returned to Bíjápúr, and Shaikh 'Abdu-r Rahím

[1] The text has "Núr-siyúr," but the Index of Names corrects it

Khairábádí went in with them to obtain 'Ádil Khán's signature to the treaty.

On the third day the Shaikh was sent back with a message that they would send out their own *wakíls* with the treaty. Next day they came out with certain propositions that Ásaf Khán considered reasonable, and he accepted them. It was agreed that the treaty should be sent out next day As they were about to depart, one of the *wakíls*, who was a confidant of Mustafá Khán, dropped a letter of his before Ásaf Khán, without the knowledge of his companion The letter said that Khawáss Khán was well aware that provender was very scarce in the Imperial army, that the fetching of grass and fuel from long distances was a work of great toil to man and beast, and that in consequence it would be impossible for the Imperial army to maintain its position more than a few days longer Khawáss Khán had therefore resolved to have recourse to artifice and procrastination, in the expectation that Ásaf Khán would be obliged to raise the siege and retire baffled.

The siege had lasted twenty days, and during that time no corn had reached the army, and before its arrival the enemy had laid waste all the country round, and carried off the grain to distant places The provisions which the army had brought with it were all exhausted, and grain had risen to the price of one rupee per *sír*. Men and beasts were sinking So it was resolved, after consultation, that the royal army should remove from Bíjápúr into some better supplied part of the enemy's country, that the Imperial army might be recruited, and the territory of the enemy be wasted at the same time With this intention the royal army marched along the bank of the Kishan Gang[1] to Rai-bágh and Míraj,[2] two of the richest places in that country Wherever they found supplies they rested, and parties were sent out to plunder in all directions On whatever road they

[1] The Kistna or Krishna

[2] Miraj is on the left bank of the Kistna, about thirty miles E of Kolapúr Ráí-bágh is about twenty-five miles lower to the S E, and on the other side of the river

went they killed and made prisoners, and ravaged and laid waste on both sides From the time of their entering the territories to the time of their departure they kept up this devastation and plunder The best part of the country was trodden under, and so, as the forces had recovered strength and the rains were near, the royal army passed by the fort of Sholapúr, and descended by the passes into the Imperial territories 15,000 men of the enemy, who had followed them to Sholapúr, then turned back to Bíjápúr

Return of the Court from Burhánpúr to A'gra.

[Text, vol i p. 421] The Emperor being tired of his residence at Burhánpúr, resolved to return to the capital; so he set out on the 24th Ramazán, * * and arrived there on the 1st Zí-l hijja, 1241 A H

Affairs in the Dakhin had not been managed so well as they ought to have been by 'Azam Khán, so a mandate was sent to Mahábat Khán Khán-khánán, informing him that the government of Khándesh and the Dakhin had been conferred upon him, and he was directed to make the necessary preparations as quickly as possible, and start from Dehlí to meet the Emperor and receive instructions Yamínu-d daula A'saf Khán, with 'Azam Khán and other nobles under his command, were directed to return to Court

Capture of the Port of Hugli

[p 434] Under the rule of the Bengális (*dar 'ahd i Bangaliyán*) a party of Frank merchants, who are inhabitants of Súndíp, came trading to Sátgánw One *kos* above that place, they occupied some ground on the bank of the estuary [1] Under the pretence that a building was necessary for their transactions in buying and selling, they erected several houses in the Bengalí style In course of time, through the ignorance and negligence of the rulers of Bengal, these Europeans increased in number, and erected large substantial buildings, which they fortified with

[1] The word used is *khur*, "an estuary," here apparently meaning a tidal river

cannons, muskets, and other implements of war In due course, a considerable place grew up, which was known by the name of the Port of Húglí On one side of it was the river, and on the other three sides was a ditch filled from the river European ships used to go up to the port, and a trade was established there. The markets of Sátgánw declined and lost their prosperity The villages and districts of Húglí were on both sides of the river, and these the Europeans got possession of at a low rent Some of the inhabitants by force, and more by hopes of gain, they infected with their Nazarene teaching, and sent them off in ships to Europe In the hope of an everlasting reward, but in reality of an exquisite torture, they consoled themselves with the profits of their trade for the loss of rent which arose from the removal of the cultivators These hateful practices were not confined to the lands they occupied, but they seized and carried off every one they could lay their hands upon along the sides of the river

These proceedings had come under the notice of the Emperor before his accession, * * and he resolved to put an end to them if ever he ascended the throne, that the coinage might always bear the stamp of the glorious dynasty, and the pulpit might be graced with its *khutba* After his accession, he appointed Kásim Khán to the government of Bengal, and * * impressed upon him the duty of overthrowing these mischievous people He was ordered, as soon as he attended to the necessary duties of his extensive province, to set about the extermination of the pernicious intruders Troops were to be sent both by water and land, so that this difficult enterprise might be quickly and easily accomplished

Kásim Khán set about making his preparations, and at the close of the cold season, in Sha'bán, 1240 A H, he sent his son 'Ináyatu-ulla with Alláh Yár Khán, who was to be the real commander of the army, and several other nobles, to effect the conquest of Húglí He also sent Bahádur Kambú, an active and intelligent servant of his, with the force under his command, under the pretence of taking possession of the *Khalisa* lands at Makhsús-

ábád, but really to join Alláh Yár Khán at the proper time Under the apprehension that the infidels, upon getting intelligence of the march of the armies, would put their families on board ships, and so escape from destruction to the disappointment of the warriors of Islám, it was given out that the forces were marching to attack Hijlí Accordingly it was arranged that Alláh Yár Khán should halt at Bardwán, which lies in the direction of Hijlí, until he received intelligence of Khwája Sher and others, who had been ordered to proceed in boats from Sripúr[1] to cut off the retreat of the Firingís. When the flotilla arrived at Mohána, which is a *dahna*[2] of the Húglí, Alláh Yár Khán was to march with all expedition from Bardwán to Húglí, and fall upon the infidels Upon being informed that Khwája Sher and his companions had arrived at the *dahna*, Alláh Yár Khán made a forced march from Bardwán, and in a night and day reached the village of Haldipúr, between Sátgánw and Húglí At the same time he was joined by Bahádur Kambú, who arrived from Makhsúsábád, with 500 horse and a large force of infantry Then he hastened to the place where Khwája Sher had brought the boats, and between Húglí and the sea, in a narrow part of the river, he formed a bridge of boats, so that ships could not get down to the sea, thus the flight of the enemy was prevented

On the 2nd Zí-l hijja, 1241, the attack was made on the Firingís by the boatmen on the river, and by the forces on land. An inhabited place outside of the ditch was taken and plundered, and the occupants were slain Detachments were then ordered to the villages and places on both sides of the river, so that all the Christians found there might be sent to hell Having killed or captured all the infidels, the warriors carried off the families of their boatmen, who were all Bengalís Four thousand boatmen, whom the Bengalís called *ghrabi*, then left the Firingís and joined the victorious army This was a great discouragement to the Christians

The royal army was engaged for three months and a half in

[1] Serampore [2] Qy Bengali *dahra*, a lake.

the siege of this strong place Sometimes the infidels fought, sometimes they made overtures of peace, protracting the time in hopes of succour from their countrymen With base treachery they pretended to make proposals of peace, and sent nearly a *lac* of rupees as tribute, while at the same time they ordered 7000 musketeers who were in their service to open fire So heavy was it that many of the trees of a grove in which a large force of the besiegers was posted were stripped of their branches and leaves.

At length the besiegers sent their pioneers to work upon the ditch, just by the church, where it was not so broad and deep as elsewhere There they dug channels and drew off the water Mines were then driven on from the trenches, but two of these were discovered by the enemy and counteracted The centre mine was carried under an edifice which was loftier and stronger than all the other buildings, and where a large number of Firingís were stationed. This was charged and tamped. On the 14th Rabí'u-l awwal the besieger's forces were drawn up in front of this building, in order to allure the enemy to that part When a large number were assembled, a heavy fire was opened, and the mine was fired The building was blown up, and the many infidels who had collected around it were sent flying into the air The warriors of Islám rushed to the assault Some of the infidels found their way to hell by the water, but some thousands succeeded in making their way to the ships At this juncture Khwája Sher came up with the boats, and killed many of the fugitives

These foes of the faith were afraid lest one large ship, which had nearly two thousand men and women and much property on board, should fall into the hands of the Muhammadans, so they fired the magazine and blew her up Many others who were on board the *ghrabs* set fire to their vessels, and turned their faces towards hell Out of the sixty-four large *dingas*, fifty-seven *ghrabs* and 200 *jaliyas*, one *ghráb* and two *jaliyas* escaped, in consequence of some fire from the burning ships having fallen

upon some boats laden with oil, which burnt a way through (the bridge of boats) Whoever escaped from the water and fire became a prisoner From the beginning of the siege to the conclusion, men and women, old and young, altogether nearly 10,000 of the enemy were killed, being either blown up with powder, drowned in water, or burnt by fire Nearly 1000 brave warriors of the Imperial army obtained the glory of martyrdom 4400 Christians of both sexes were taken prisoners, and nearly 10,000 inhabitants of the neighbouring country who had been kept in confinement by these tyrants were set at liberty.

Surrender of the Fort of Galna

[Text, vol i p 442] After Fath Khán, son of Malik 'Ambar, had put Nizám Sháh to death, Mahmúd Khán, the commandant of the fort of Gálna, repudiated his authority, and put the fortress in a state of defence, intending to deliver it over to Sáhú-jí Bhonsla, who, unmindful of the favours he had received from the Imperial throne, had strayed from the path of obedience, and had possessed himself of Násik, Trimbak, Sangamnír and Junír, as far as the country of the Kokan He had got into his power one of the relatives of the late Nízám Sháh, who had been confined in one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom, and raised the banner of independence He (Mahmud Khán)[1] wished to deliver the fort over to him Khán-zamán, who was acting as deputy of his father in the government of the Dakhin, Birár and Khándesh, when he was informed of Mahmúd Khán's proceedings, wrote to Mír Kásim Khán Harawí, commandant of the fort of Alang, which is near to Gálna He directed him to endeavour by promises of Imperial favour to win him over, and prevent the surrender of the fortress to Sáhú-jí Bhonsla Mír Kásim communicated with Mahmúd Khán on the subject, and the latter invited the Mír to come to him. After a good deal of talk, Mahmúd Khán assented to the pro-

[1] This seems to be the sense of the passage, but it is obscure

position, and in the hope of a great reward delivered over the fort to the representatives of the Emperor.

SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1042 A.H. (1632 A.D.).

[Text, vol. i. p. 449.] Bhágírat Bhíl, chief of the disaffected in the province of Málwa, relying on the number of his followers and the strength of his fort of Khátákhírí,[1] had refused obedience to the governors of Málwa. He ventured to show his disaffection to Nusrat Khán, when he was governor, and the Khán marched from Sárangpúr to chastise him. The Khán's fame as a soldier had its effect. The rebel gave up all hope of resistance, and, seeking an introduction to Nusrat Khán through Sangrám, Zamíndár of Kanúr, he surrendered his fortress.

Destruction of Hindu Temples.

[p. 449.] It had been brought to the notice of His Majesty that during the late reign many idol temples had been begun, but remained unfinished, at Benares, the great stronghold of infidelity. The infidels were now desirous of completing them. His Majesty, the defender of the faith, gave orders that at Benares, and throughout all his dominions in every place, all temples that had been begun should be cast down. It was now reported from the province of Allahábád that seventy-six temples had been destroyed in the district of Benares.

Conquest of Daulatabad.

[p. 496.] Fath Khán, son of 'Ambar Habshí, conceiving his interest to lie in making submission to the Emperor, had sent his son, 'Abdu-r Rusúl, with a suitable offering to the foot of the Imperial throne, professing obedience and praying for favour. The Emperor graciously bestowed upon him some districts which had formerly belonged to him, but had been since given to Sáhú-jí Bhonsla. Now, in compliance with the request of Fath Khán,

[1] "Kuntharkera," in Malcolm's Map of Central India, on the Kali Sind, about thirty miles N. of Ujjain.

they were restored to him. This gave great offence to the turbulent Sáhú-jí, who went and joined the Bíjapúrís, and induced 'Ádil Khán to place him in command of a force for wresting the fortress of Daulatábád from the hands of Fath Khán. The latter was much incensed against the Nizám-Sháhís, and had no faith in them; so he wrote to Khán-khánán Mahábat Khán, informing him that Sáhú-jí Bhonsla was preparing to bring a force from Bíjápúr against him, and that, as the fortress was ill provisioned, there was great probability of its being taken, unless Mahábat Khán came to his assistance. If the Khán came quickly, he would surrender the fortress, and would himself proceed to the Imperial Court. The Khán-khánán accordingly sent forward his son, Khán-zamán, with an advanced force, and he himself followed on the 9th Jumáda-s sání. [*Khan-zaman defeats a covering army of Bijapúr.*]

The Bíjápúrís were discouraged by the chastisement they had received from the Imperial army, so they made offers of an arrangement to Fath Khán. They offered to leave the fortress in his possession, to give him three *lacs* of *pagodas* in cash, and to throw provisions into the fort. That ill-starred foolish fellow, allured by these promises, broke his former engagement, and entered into an alliance with them. Most of the animals in the fortress had died from want of provender, and the Bíjápúrís now, at the instance of Fath Khán, exerted themselves in getting provisions. When Khán-khanán, who was at Zafarnagar, was informed of these proceedings, he wrote to Khán-zamán directing him to make every exertion for the reduction of the fortress, and for the punishment of the traitor and the Bíjápúrís. [*Skirmishes in the vicinity.*]

Khán-khánán, on being informed of the state of affairs, marched from Zafarnagar to Daulatábád, and reached there on the last day of Sha'bán. Next morning he rode out with his son, Khán-zamán, to reconnoitre the fortress, and took up his residence in a house belonging to Nizám Sháh at Nizámpúr, near the fortress. [*Disposition of his forces.*] He placed the artillery

and siege material under the direction of (his son) Luhrasp, and ordered that a constant fire should be kept up from a high hill which governs the fortress, and upon which Kághziwára stands He also ordered Khán-zamán to be constantly on the alert with 5000 cavalry, and ready to render assistance wherever it might be required in the trenches The Imperial army having thus invested the place, and formed trenches, pushed on the siege, running zigzags, forming mines and preparing scaling ladders

Fath Khán placed the son of Nizám Sháh in the Kálá-kot (black fort), which was considered impregnable He himself took post in the Mahá-kot (great fort), and the body of the forces were stationed in the outer works called 'Ambar-kot, because they had been raised by Malik 'Ambar to protect the place against the advance of the Imperial power [*Defeat of many attempts to victual and relieve the fortress from without, and of sorties from within*]

On the 9th Shawwál a mine which had been formed from the trenches of Khán-zamán was charged, and the forces having been named for the assault, were ordered to assemble in the trenches before break of day The mine was to be fired at the first appearance of dawn, and upon the walls being blown down, the stormers were to rush into the fort By mistake the mine was fired an hour before dawn, and before the storming parties were ready. Twenty-eight *gaz* of the walls and twelve *gaz* of the bastion was blown away, and a wide breach was made But the troops not having arrived, no entry was effected The defenders rushed to the breach, and kept up such a rain of arrows, bullets, and rockets, that the storming party was obliged to take refuge in the trenches. Then they exerted themselves to stop the breach with palisades and planks The commander of the Imperial army desired to dismount and lead the assault, but Nasírí Khán urged that it was against all the rules of warfare for the commander-in-chief to act in such a way He himself would lead the storming party, trusting in God and hoping for the favour of the Emperor Khán-khánán directed Mahes Dás

Ráthor and others to support him The Imperial troops rushed to the breach, and the defenders made a desperate resistance; but Nasírí Khán, although wounded, forced his way in upon the right, and Rájá Bihár Singh and other Hindus upon the left They were fiercely encountered by Khairiyat Khán Bíjápúrí and others with sword and dagger, but they at length prevailed, and drove the defenders into the ditch of the Mahá-kot for shelter. Great numbers of the garrison fell under the swords of the victors Thus fell the celebrated works of Malik 'Ambar, which were fourteen *gaz* in height and ten *gaz* in thickness, and well furnished with guns and all kinds of defences The Imperial commander having thus achieved a great success, proceeded with Nasírí Khán to inspect the works, and immediately took steps for attacking the Mahá-kot [*Diversion made by the enemy in the direction of Bidar Another attempt by Randaula and Sahú-ji to relieve the fortress*]

With great perseverance the besiegers pushed a mine under the Mahá-kot, and Fath Khán was so much alarmed that he sent his wives and family into the Kálá-kot He himself, with Khairiyat Khán, uncle of Randaula, and some other Bíjápúrís, remained in the Mahá-kot The Bíjápúrís being greatly depressed by the scarcity of food and the progress of the Imperial arms, sought permission through Málú-jí to be allowed to escape secretly, and to go to their master Khán-khánán sent a written consent, and by kind words encouraged their drooping spirits Nearly two hundred of them after night-fall descended by a ladder fastened to the battlements Khán-khánán sent for them, and consoled them with kind words and presents. [*Several more attempts to relieve the fortress*]

On the 25th Zí-l ka'da, the commander-in-chief visited the trenches He went to Saiyid 'Aláwal, whose post was near the mine of the Sher-Hájí of the Mahá-kot, and determined that the mine should be blown up Fath Khán got notice of this, and in the extremity of his fear he sent his *wakíl* to Khán-khánán, and with great humility represented that he had bound himself

to the 'Ádil-Khánís by the most solemn compact not to make peace without their approval He therefore wished to send one of his followers to Murári Pandit, to let him know how destitute the fort was of provisions, and how hard it was pressed by the besiegers He also wanted the Pandit to send *wakils* to settle with him the terms of peace and the surrender of the fort He therefore begged that the explosion of the mine might be deferred for that day, so that there might be time for an answer to come from Murári Pandit Khán-khánán knew very well that there was no sincerity in his proposal, and that he only wanted to gain a day by artifice, so he replied that if Fath Khán wished to delay the explosion for a day, he must immediately send out his son as a hostage

When it had become evident that Fath Khán did not intend to send his son out, the mine was exploded A bastion and fifteen yards of the wall were blown up The brave men who awaited the explosion rushed forward, and heedless of the fire from all sorts of arms which fell upon them from the top of the Mahá-kot, they made their way in The commander-in-chief now directed that Saiyid 'Aláwal and others who held the trenches on the outside of the ditch, opposite the Sher-Hájí, should go inside and bravely cast up trenches in the interior. [*Defeat of a demonstration made by Murari Pandit Surrender of the fort of Nabati near Galna*]

Fath Khán now woke up from his sleep of heedlessness and security. He saw that Daulatábád could not resist the Imperial arms and the vigour of the Imperial commander To save the honour of his own and Nizám Sháh's women, he sent his eldest son 'Abdu-r Rusúl to Khán-khánán [*laying the blame of his conduct on Sahú-ji and the 'A'dil-Kháns*] He begged for forgiveness and for a week's delay, to enable him to remove his and Nizám Sháh's family from the fortress, while his son remained as a hostage in Khán-khánán's power. Khán-khánán had compassion on his fallen condition, granted him safety, and kept his son as a hostage. Fath Khán asked to be supplied

with the means of carrying out his family and property, and with money for expenses Khán-khánán sent him his own elephants and camels and several litters, also ten *lacs* and fifty thousand rupees in cash, belonging to the State, and demanded the surrender of the fortress Fath Khán sent the keys to Khán-khánán, and set about preparing for his own departure. Khán-khánán then placed trusty guards over the gates.

On the 19th Zí-l hijja Fath Khán came out of the fortress and delivered it up The fortress consisted of nine different works, five upon the low ground, and four upon the top of the hill These with the guns and all the munitions of war were surrendered * * * Khán-khánán went into the fortress, and had the *khutba* read in the Emperor's name

The old name of the fortress of Daulatábád was Deo-gír, or Dhárágar It stands upon a rock which towers to the sky In circumference it measures 5000 legal *gaz*, and the rock all round is scarped so carefully, from the base of the fort to the level of the water, that a snake or an ant would ascend it with difficulty Around it there is a moat forty legal yards (*zara'*) in width, and thirty in depth, cut into the solid rock In the heart of the rock there is a dark and tortuous passage, like the ascent of a minaret, and a light is required there in broad daylight The steps are cut in the rock itself, and the bottom is closed by an iron gate It is by this road and way that the fortress is entered By the passage a large iron brazier had been constructed, which, when necessary, could be placed in the middle of it, and a fire being kindled in this brazier, its heat would effectually prevent all progress The ordinary means of besieging a fort by mines, *sábáts*, etc , are of no avail against it * * *

Khán-khánán desired to leave a garrison in the captured fortress, and to go to Burhánpúr, taking Nizám Sháh and Fath Khán with him. The Imperial army had endured many hardships and privations during the siege They had continually to contend against 20,000 horse of Bijápúr and Nizámu-l Mulk, and to struggle hard for supplies Nasírí Khán (who had been

created Khán-daurán) was always ready for service, and he offered to take the command of the fortress So Khán-khánán left him and some other officers in charge, and marched with his army to Zafarnagar * * * After reaching that place, Murárí Pandit and the Bíjápúrís sent Farhád, the father of Randaula, to treat for peace, but Khán-khánán knew their artfulness and perfidy, and sent him back again The Bíjápúrís, in despair and recklessness, now turned back to Daulatábád They knew that provisions were very scarce and the garrison small The entrenchments which the besiegers had raised were not thrown down, so the Bíjápúrís took possession of them, invested the fortress and fought against it Khán-daurán, without waiting for reinforcements, boldly sallied out and attacked them repeatedly By kind treatment he had conciliated the *raiyats* of the neighbourhood, and they supplied him with provisions, so that he was in no want As soon as Khán-khánán heard of these proceedings, he marched for Daulatábád The enemy finding that they could accomplish nothing, abandoned the siege as soon as they heard of the approach of Khán-khánán, and then retreated by Násik and Trimbak

Christian Prisoners

[Text, vol I p 534] On the 11th Muharram, [1043 A H], Kásim Khán and Bahádur Kambu brought * * * 400 Christian prisoners, male and female, young and old, with the idols of their worship, to the presence of the faith-defending Emperor He ordered that the principles of the Muhammadan religion should be explained to them, and that they should be called upon to adopt it A few appreciated the honour offered to them and embraced the faith they experienced the kindness of the Emperor But the majority in perversity and wilfulness rejected the proposal These were distributed among the *amirs*, who were directed to keep these despicable wretches in rigorous confinement When any one of them accepted the true faith, a report was to be made to the Emperor, so that provision might be made for him Those

who refused were to be kept in continual confinement So it came to pass that many of them passed from prison to hell Such of their idols as were likenesses of the prophets were thrown into the Jumna, the rest were broken to pieces.

Last of the Nizám Sháhs

[Text, vol i p 540] Islám Khán returned to Court, bringing with him the captive Nizám Sháh and Fath Khán, whom Khán-khánán Mahábat Khán had sent together with the plunder taken at Daulatábád Nizám Sháh was placed in the custody of Khan-Jahan, in the fort of Gwálior * * * The crimes of Fath Khán were mercifully pardoned, he was admitted into the Imperial service, and received a *khil'at* and a grant of two *lacs* of rupees per annum His property also was relinquished to him, but that of Nizám Sháh was confiscated

SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1043 A H. (1633 A D)

[p 545] The Emperor had never visited Lahore, one of his chief cities, since his accession He now determined to proceed thither, and also to pay a visit to the peerless vale of Kashmír Accordingly he set out from Ágra on the 3rd Sha'bán, 1043 H * * * His Majesty's sense of justice and consideration for his subjects induced him to order that the *Bakhshí* of the *ahadis* with his archers should take charge of one side of the road, and the *Mír-átish* with his matchlock-men should guard the other, so that the growing crops should not be trampled under foot by the followers of the royal train As, however, damage might be caused, *dároghas*, *mushrifs* and *amíns* were appointed to examine and report on the extent of the mischief, so that *raiyats*, and *jagírdárs* under 1000, might be compensated for the individual loss they had sustained.

March of Prince Shah Shujá' against Parenda.

[Text, vol ii p 33] The fortress of Parenda, belonging to Nizám Sháh, was formerly besieged by 'Azam Khán, but, as before

related, certain obstacles compelled him to raise the siege 'Ádil Khán [*by cajolery and bribery*] got the fort into his possession. * * * The reduction of this fortress had long been a favourite object with Khán-khánán, and, when Prince Sháh Shujá' came near to Burhánpúr with a fine army, * * * Khán-khánán waited upon him, and advised him to undertake the reduction of Parenda So the Prince, without entering Burhánpúr, turned off and marched against that fortress * * * On arriving at Parenda, he encamped on a stream about a *kos* distant, which is the only water to be found in the vicinity. Then he allotted the work of constructing the trenches, and placed the general direction of the siege works in the hands of Alla Vardí Khán [*Many conflicts and skirmishes in the neighbourhood*]

The efforts of the besiegers in the construction of mines were not attended with much success The enemy broke into some and destroyed them, and water burst into others One, constructed by Alla Vardí, in front of the Sher-Hájí, was fired by the Prince himself, who went to it by the covered way It blew up a bastion, but did not make a practicable breach Moreover, great ill feeling had sprung up between Khán-khánán and Khán-daurán, because the latter was continually repeating that he had saved Khán-khánán's life [*in one of the engagements*] All the nobles and officers also were aggrieved at the petulance and discourtesy of Khán-khánán Through this the enemy got information about Khán-khánán's plans, and were able to foil them, so that he made no progress in the reduction of the place He therefore represented to the Prince that, although provisions were abundant, there was no grass or fuel within ten or twelve *kos* of the camp, so that every foraging party had to travel more than twenty *kos* This was very distressing to the army The rainy season also was at hand So he advised a retreat to Burhánpúr As the Prince had been ordered to act upon the advice of Khán-khánán, the army retreated on the 3rd Zí-l hijja.

Death of Khán-khánán

[Text, vol. ii p 59] On the 14th Jumáda-l awwal intelligence arrived of the death of Mahábat Khán Khán-khánán, who died of fistula, with which he had long been afflicted

EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1044 A.H. (1634 A.D.).

The Peacock Throne

[p 62] In the course of years many valuable gems had come into the Imperial jewel-house, each one of which might serve as an ear-drop for Venus, or would adorn the girdle of the Sun Upon the accession of the Emperor, it occurred to his mind that, in the opinion of far-seeing men, the acquisition of such rare jewels and the keeping of such wonderful brilliants can only render one service, that of adorning the throne of empire. They ought therefore, to be put to such a use, that beholders might share in and benefit by their splendour, and that Majesty might shine with increased brilliancy It was accordingly ordered that, in addition to the jewels in the Imperial jewel-house, rubies, garnets, diamonds, rich pearls and emeralds, to the value of 200 *lacs* of rupees, should be brought for the inspection of the Emperor, and that they, with some exquisite jewels of great weight, exceeding 50,000 *mishals*, and worth eighty-six *lacs* of rupees, having been carefully selected, should be handed over to Be-badal Khán, the superintendent of the goldsmith's department There was also to be given to him one *lac* of *tolas* of pure gold, equal to 250,000 *mishals* in weight and fourteen *lacs* of rupees in value The throne was to be three *gaz* in length, two and a half in breadth, and five in height, and was to be set with the above-mentioned jewels The outside of the canopy was to be of enamel work with occasional gems, the inside was to be thickly set with rubies, garnets, and other jewels, and it was to be supported by twelve emerald columns. On the top of

each pillar there were to be two peacocks thick set with gems, and between each two peacocks a tree set with rubies and diamonds, emeralds and pearls. The ascent was to consist of three steps set with jewels of fine water This throne was completed in the course of seven years at a cost of 100 *lacs* of rupees Of the eleven jewelled recesses (*takhta*) formed around it for cushions, the middle one, intended for the seat of the Emperor, cost ten *lacs* of rupees Among the jewels set in this recess was a ruby worth a *lac* of rupees, which Sháh 'Abbás, the King of Írán, had presented to the late Emperor Jahángír, who sent it to his present Majesty, the Sáhib Kirán-i sání, when he accomplished the conquest of the Dakhin. On it were engraved the names of Sáhib-kirán (Tímúr), Mír Sháh Rukh, and Mirzá Ulugh Beg When in course of time it came into the possession of Sháh 'Abbás, his name was added, and when Jahángír obtained it, he added the name of himself and of his father [1] Now it received the addition of the name of his most gracious Majesty Sháh Jahán By command of the Emperor, the following *masnawí*, by Hájí Muhammad Ján, the final verse of which contains the date, was placed upon the inside of the canopy in letters of green enamel * * *

On his return to Ágra, the Emperor held a court, and sat for the first time on his throne * * Yamínu-d daula Ásaf Khán was promoted to the dignity of Khán-khánán [*Conquest by Najabat Khan of several forts belonging to the zamíndárs of Srinagar, and his subsequent enforced retreat*]

[1] The following is the account given of the throne in the *Sháh-Jahán-náma* of 'Ináyat Khán "The *Nau-roz* of the year 1044 fell on the *'Íd-i fitr*, when His Majesty was to take his seat on the new jewelled throne This gorgeous structure, with a canopy supported on twelve pillars, measured three yards and a half in length, two and a half in breadth, and five in height, from the flight of steps to the overhanging dome On His Majesty's accession to the throne, he had commanded that eighty-six *lacs* worth of gems and precious stones, and a diamond worth fourteen *lacs*, which together make a *crore* of rupees as money is reckoned in Hindústán, should be used in its decoration It was completed in seven years, and among the precious stones was a ruby worth a *lac* of rupees that Sháh 'Abbás Safavi had sent to the late Emperor, on which were inscribed the names of the great Timúr Sáhib-Kirán, etc "

Rebellion of Jajhár Singh Bundela and his son Bikramajit

[Text, vol ii p. 94.] His Majesty in the second year of his reign pardoned the misdeeds of this turbulent man, and sent him on service to the Dakhin After a while he took leave of Mahábat Khán Khán-khánán, the ruler of the Dakhin, and retired to his own country, leaving behind him his son Bikramájít, entitled Jagráj, and his contingent of men On reaching home, he attacked Bím Naráín, Zamíndár of Garha, and induced him by a treaty and promise to surrender the fort of Chaurágarh[1] Afterwards, in violation of his engagement, he put Bím Naráín and a number of his followers to death, and took possession of the fort, with all the money and valuables it contained Bím Naráín's son accompanied Khán-daurán to Court from Málwa, taking with him an offering, and he made known to the Emperor what had happened A *farman* was then sent to Jajhár Singh, charging him with having killed Bím Naráín, and taking possession of Garha, without the authority of the Emperor, and directing him to surrender the territory to the officers of the Crown, or else to give up the *jágirs* he held in his own country, and to send to Court ten *lacs* of rupees in cash out of the money which had belonged to Bím Naráín. He got notice of this *farmán* from his *wakíls* before it arrived, and being resolved to resist, he directed his son Bikramájít to escape with his troops from the Bálághát, whither he had gone with Khán-daurán, and to make the best of his way home The son acted accordingly, * * but he was attacked at Ashta[2] in Málwa by Khán-zamán, *Nazim* of the Páyín-ghát, when many of his men were killed, and he himself was wounded, and narrowly escaped, * * but he made his way by difficult and unknown roads through the jungles and hills, and joined his father in the *pargana* of Dhámúni[3] [20,000 *men sent against the rebel under the nominal command of Prince Aurangzeb*]

The different divisions of the Imperial army united at Bhander,

[1] Seventy miles W of Jabalpúr —*Ain-i Akbari*, vol i p 367.

[2] Sixty miles S W of Bhopal

[3] In Bundelkhand near lat 79°, long 24°

and prepared for the reduction of the fortress of Úndcha. On arriving within three *kos* of Úndcha, where the forest territory of Jajhár commences, the forces were constantly occupied in cutting down trees and forming roads Every day they made a little advance Jajhár had with him in Úndcha nearly 5000 horse and 10,000 foot, and was resolved to contest the passage through the woods Every day he sent out cavalry and infantry to keep under the cover of the trees, and to annoy the royal forces with muskets and arrows But the Imperial army killed some of them every day, and forced its way to the neighbourhood of Kahmar-wálí, one *kos* from Úndcha, where the rebels were determined to fight

Rájá Debi Singh, with the advanced guard of Khán-daurán, pressed forward and took the little hill of Kahmar-wálí from Jajhár's men Notwithstanding the density and strength of his forests, Jajhár was alarmed at the advance of the Imperial forces, and removed his family, his cattle and money, from Úndcha to the fort of Dhámúní, which his father had built On the east, north and south of this fort there are deep ravines, which prevent the digging of mines or the running of zigzags On the west side a deep ditch had been dug twenty imperial yards wide, stretching from ravine to ravine Leaving a force to garrison Úndcha, he himself, with Bikramájít, and all their connexions, went off to Dhámúní This flight encouraged the royal forces, and on the 2nd Jumáda-s sání [*they took Úndcha by escalade*], and the garrison fled.

After resting one day at Úndcha, the royal army crossed the river Satdhára, on which the town stands, and went in pursuit of the rebels. On the 14th it was three *kos* from Dhámúní, when intelligence came in that Jajhár had fled with his family and property to the fort of Chaurágarh, on the security of which he had great reliance * * Before leaving he blew up the buildings round the fort of Dhámúní, and left one of his officers and a body of faithful adherents to garrison the fort * * The Imperial army was engaged two days in felling trees and clearing a passage, and then reached the fortress They pushed their trenches to

the edge of the ditch, and pressed the garrison hard The fort kept up a heavy fire till midnight, when, alarmed at the progress of the besiegers, they sent to propose a capitulation. Favoured by the darkness, the men of the garrison made their way out, and hid in the jungles * * The Imperial forces then entered the place, and began to sack it * * A cry arose that a party of the enemy still held possession of a bastion * * 'Alí Asghar and the men under him carried the tower, but while they were engaged in plundering, a spark from a torch fell upon a heap of gunpowder, which blew up the bastion with eighty yards of the wall on both sides, although it was ten yards thick 'Alí Asghar and his followers all perished * * Nearly 300 men and 200 horses who were near the entrance of the fort were killed. * *

Jajhár, on hearing of the approach of the Imperial forces, destroyed the guns of the fortress (of Chaurágarh), burnt all the property he had there, blew up the dwellings which Bím Naráín had built within the fort, and then went off with his family and such goods as he could carry to the Dakhin * * The Imperial army then took possession of the fortress A *chaudharí* brought in information that Jajhár had with him nearly 2000 horse and 4000 foot He had also sixty elephants, some of which were loaded with gold and silver money and gold and silver vessels, others carried the members of his family He travelled at the rate of four Gondi *kos*, that is, nearly eight ordinary *kos* per diem Although he had got fifteen days' start, the Imperial army set out in pursuit, and for fear the rebel should escape with his family and wealth, the pursuers hurried on at the rate of ten Gondi *kos* a day [*Long and exciting chase*] When pressed hard by the pursuers, Jajhár and Bikramájít put to death several women whose horses were worn out, and then turned upon their pursuers * * Although they fought desperately, they were beaten, and fled into the woods * * Intelligence afterwards was brought that Jajhár had sent off his family and treasure towards Golkonda, intending to follow them himself * * The royal forces consequently steadily pursued their course to Golkonda * *

At length the pursuers came in sight of the rebels Khán-daurán then sent his eldest son, Saiyid Muhammad, and some other officers with 500 horse, to advance with all speed against them The hot pursuit allowed the rebels no time to perform the rite of *Jauhar*, which is one of the benighted practices of Hindústán In their despair they inflicted two wounds with a dagger on Rání Párbatí, the chief wife of Rájá Nar Singh Deo, and having stabbed the other women and children with swords and daggers, they were about to make off, when the pursuers came up and put many of them to the sword Khán-daurán then arrived, and slew many who were endeavouring to escape Durgbahán, son of Jajhár, and Durjan Sál, son of Bikramájít, were made prisoners Udbahán, and his brother Siyám Dawá, sons of Jajhár, who had fled towards Golkonda, were soon afterwards taken Under the direction of Khán-daurán, Rání Párbatí and the other wounded women were raised from the ground and carried to Fíroz Jang The royal army then encamped on the edge of a tank * * While they rested there, information was brought that Jajhár and Bikramájít, * * after escaping from the bloody conflict, had fled to hide themselves in the wilds, where they were killed with great cruelty by the Gonds who inhabit that country * * Khán-dauran rode forth to seek their bodies, and having found them, cut off their heads and sent them to Court * * When they arrived, the Emperor ordered them to be hung up over the gate of Sehúr

On arriving at Chándá, the Imperial commanders resolved to take tribute from Kípá, chief *zamindar* of Gondwáná, * * and he consented to pay five *lacs* of rupees as tribute to the government, and one *lac* of rupees in cash and goods to the Imperial commanders * *

On the 13th Jumáda-s sání the Emperor proceeded on his journey to Úndcha, and on the 21st intelligence arrived of the capture of the fort of Jhánsí, one of the strongest in the Bundela country

NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1045 A H (1635 A D)

[Text, vol i. part 2, p 125] An officer was sent to Bíjápúr to 'Ádil Khán, with a *khil'at*, etc, and he was directed to require that 'Ádil Khán should be faithful in his allegiance and regular in the payment of his tribute, that he should surrender to the Imperial officers the territories he had taken from Nizámu-l Mulk, and that he should expel the evil-minded Sáhú and other adherents of the Nizámu-l Mulk from his dominions [*Text of the farman*]

Farman to Kutbu-l Mulk (of Golkonda)

[*It stipulates for the allegiance of Kutbu-l Mulk to the Imperial throne, for the khutba being read in the name of the Emperor, and for the payment of tribute, etc*]

[p 133] On the 15th Sha'bán Khán-daurán came from Chándá to wait upon the Emperor He presented * * the wives of the wretched Jajhár, Durgbahán his son, and Durjan Sál, his grandson By the Emperor's order they were made Musalmáns by the names of Islám Kulí, and 'Alí Kuli, and they were both placed in the charge of Fíroz Khán Nazir Rání Párbatí, being severely wounded, was passed over, the other women were sent to attend upon the ladies of the Imperial palace

Despatch of the Imperial army against Sahú and other Nizam-Shahis

[p 135] Nizámu-l Mulk was in confinement in the fort of Gwálior, but the evil-minded Sáhú, and other turbulent Nizámu-l Mulkís, had found a boy of the Nizám's family, to whom they gave the title of Nizamu-l Mulk They had got possession of some of the Nizám's territories, and were acting in opposition to the Imperial government Now that the Emperor was near Daulatábád, he determined to send Khán-daurán, Khán-zamán, and Shávista Khan, at the head of three different divisions to

punish these rebels, and in the event of 'Ádil Khán failing to co-operate with them, they were ordered to attack and ravage his territories * * Khán-daurán's force consisted of about 20,000 horse, and he was sent towards Kandahár and Nánder, which join the territories of Golkonda and Bíjápúr, with directions to ravage the country and to besiege the forts of Údgír[1] and Úsa, two of the strongest forts in those parts * * Khán-zamán's force also consisted of about 20,000 men He was directed to proceed to Ahmadnagar, and subdue the native territory of Sáhú, which lies in Chamár-gonda[2] and Ashtí near to Ahmadnagar After that he was to release the Kokan from the grasp of Sáhu, and upon receipt of instructions he was to attack and lay waste the country of 'Ádil Khán. * * The force under Sháyista Khán consisted of about 8000 horse, and was sent against the forts of Junir, Sangamnír, Násik and Trimbak On the 8th Ramazán they were sent on their respective expeditions * * On the 5th Shawwál Sháyista Khán reported the capture of the fort of Masíj

Udbhán, the son of Jajhár, and his younger brother, Siyám Dawa,[3] who had fled to Golkonda, were made prisoners by Kutbu-l Mulk, and were sent in custody to the Emperor They arrived on the 7th Shawwál The young boy was ordered to be made a Musulmán, and to be placed in charge of Fíroz Khán *Nazir*, along with the son of Bikramájít Udbhan and Siyam Dawá, who were of full age, were offered the alternative of Islám or death They chose the latter, and were sent to hell

It now became known that 'Ádil Khán, misled by evil counsels, and unmindful of his allegiance, had secretly sent money to the commandant of forts Údgír and Úsa. He had also sent Khairiyat Khán with a force to protect those two forts, and had commissioned Randaula to support Sáhú Incensed with these acts, the Emperor sent a force of about 10,000 men under Saiyid Khán-jahán, * * to chastise him Orders were given that

[1] About fifty miles S of Nánder on the road to Bidar
[2] About fifty miles S of Ahmadnagar The "Chambargoondee" of the Bombay Route Map
[3] These names are here spelt "Udihán" and "Siyám Dúdá"

he and Khán-daurán and Khán-zamán should march into the Bíjápúr territories in three different directions, to prevent Randaula from joining Sáhú, and to ravage the country from end to end If 'Ádil Khán should awake from his heedless stupidity, and should pay proper obedience, they were to hold their hands, if not, they were to make every exertion to crush him On the 11th a letter arrived from Sháyista Khán, reporting that Sálih Beg, the Nizámu-l Mulkí commander of the fort of Kher-darak, had confined all Sáhú's men who were in the fort, and had surrendered it and its dependencies to the Imperial commanders

Mír Abú-l Hasan and Kází Abú Sa'íd, whom 'Ádil Khán of Bíjápur had sent to the Emperor after being aroused from his negligence by the despatch of the Imperial forces to ravage his dominions, now arrived and presented tribute and presents.

Mukarramat Khán, the Imperial envoy, approached Bíjápúr, and 'Ádil Khán, fearing the consequences of showing disobedience, came forth from the city five *kos* to meet him, and made great show of submission and respect * * But the envoy soon discovered that, although he made all these outward demonstrations through fear, he was really desirous of exciting disturbances and offering opposition He made a report to this effect, and upon his arrival, the Imperial order was given to kill and ravage as much as possible in the Bíjápúr territories

When 'Abdu-l Latíf, the envoy to Golkonda, approached the city, Kutbu-l Mulk came forth five *kos* to receive him, and conducted him to the city with great honour * * He had the *khutba* read aloud in the name of the Emperor, he several times attended when the *khutba* was read, and bestowed gifts upon the reader, and he had coins struck in the Emperor's name, and sent specimens of them to Court

[*Conquest of the fort of Chándor Surrender of the hill fort of Anjarai, and of the hill forts of Kánjna and Mánjna, Rola, Jola, Ahúnat, Kol, Busra, Achláqai, and others Conquest of the fort of the Rájá of Bír after two months' siege Surrender of the fort of Dharab to Alláh Verdi Khán*]

[*Sháyista Khán takes Sangamnir and the town of Junir from Sáhú Sahú's son attempts the recovery of Junir*]

Campaign against Bíjapúr

[Text, vol i part 2, p 151] On the 8th Shawwál, a royal order reached Khán-daurán near U'dgír, informing him that 'Adil Khán had been remiss in his obedience and payment of tribute, that Khán-jahán had been directed to invade his territory by way of Sholapúr, Khán-zamán by way of I'ndápúr,[1] and that he, Khan daurán, must march against him by way of Bidar, and lay waste his country Khán-daurán accordingly left his baggage on the banks of the Wanjra, in charge of a party of men whose horses were ineffective In the beginning of New Year's night he set forth, and at five o'clock reached Kalyán, the most flourishing place in that country The inhabitants were quite unprepared, and near 2000 of them fell under his attack Many were taken prisoners, and great booty was secured [*Narainpur, Bhalki, and Maknath,*[2] *taken in succession and plundered* 2000 *of the enemy defeated near Bidar*]

From Bhálkí Khán-daurán marched to Deoní, three *kos* from U'dgír, and from thence towards Bíjápúr, plundering and laying waste all the country He then attacked and sacked the two great towns of Sultánpúr and Hirápúr From Hirápúr he advanced to the river Bhúnrá[3] A party of the enemy then drew near and threatened him, * * but was defeated After this, Khán-daurán marched to Fírozábád, twelve *kos* from Bíjápúr A letter then arrived from Mukarramat Khán, informing him that the Bíjápúrís had broken down the tank of Sháhpúr, and had taken all the inhabitants of the country round Bíjápúr into that city, and that no water or food was to be found in the country * * * A letter from the Emperor then reached him, to the effect that

[1] Between Púna and Sholapúr, eighty-four miles from the former

[2] Naráinpúr is "one *kos* and a half from Kalyán" Bhálki or Bálkí is about equi distant N of Kalyán and Bidar Maknáth is "ten *kos* from Bhálkí, and two from Bidar"

[3] This name often occurs, and is evidently used for the Bhíma

'Ádil Khán had sent two envoys to make some representations about the forts of Úsa and Údgír, but as these belonged to Nizámu-l Mulk, the Emperor would not present them to him A report received subsequently from Mukarramat Khán stated that 'Ádil Khán had abandoned his claim to these forts, and had returned to his obedience Khán-daurán was therefore directed to desist from ravaging the Bíjápúr territories, and to lay siege to Úsa and Údgír On the 23rd Muharram Khán-daurán marched against Údgír

Campaign of Khán-Jahán

[Text, vol i part 2, p. 155.] [*Capture of Saradhún, Dharasiyun, Kanti six kos from Sholapur, and the town of Deogann Victories over the Bijapúris, commanded by Randaula*] Water and provisions were now difficult to obtain, so the royal army fell back to Dhárásíyún,[1] intending to leave their baggage at Sarádhún, and passing between Úsa and Naldrug, to make a raid into the flourishing country about Kulbarga, to plunder and lay waste On the 1st Zí-l hijja, the enemy made his appearance while the Imperial army was encamped about two *kos* from Úsa, and began to throw in rockets The royal forces issued from their entrenchments and repulsed their assailants Next day they attacked the Imperial army as it was about to march, * * but were defeated and driven back After returning from the battle-field, Saiyid Khán-jahán, considering that the country was devastated, and the rains were at hand, determined to fall back to Bír, * * and await the Imperial directions as to where the rainy season should be passed On the 11th Zí-l hijja, about eight *kos* from Sarádhún, the enemy again appeared in the rear [*and after a hard fight fell back defeated*] The royal army then continued its march to Sarádhún, and along the banks of the Wanjira to Dhárúr

[1] "Deraseo," fifty miles north-east of Sholápúr.

Campaign of Khán-zaman

[Text, vol. i. part 2, p 160] After receiving his orders, Khán-zamán marched to Ahmadnagar, and, after provisioning his force, * * he went on towards Junír Six *kos* from Ahmadnagar, he learnt that the villain Sáhú had made terms with Mínají Bhonsla, and had obtained from him the fort of Máhúlí Having taken Mínají along with him to Junír, Sáhú was about to proceed by way of Párgánw to Parenda Khán-zamán marched after him, * * but Sáhú passed the river Bhúnrá, and proceeded to Lohgánw, a dependency of Púna in the Bíjápúr territories. Here Khán-zamán halted, because his orders were not to follow Sáhú into 'Ádil Khán's country [*Capture of the fort of Chamar-gonda by a detachment*] On receiving orders from Court, he entered the Bíjápúr territories, and plundered and destroyed every inhabited place he came to On the 27th Shawwál he reached the pass of Dúdbái, where he halted * * Next morning he ascended the pass In eight days he arrived at Kolapúr, and invested the fortress and town. Notwithstanding a brave defence, he quickly took the place. [*Successful skirmishes with Sáhu and the Bijapuris*] Khán-zamán next marched to Miraj, one of the principal towns in the Bíjápúr dominions, and plundered it. From thence he made six days' march to Rai-bágh, a very ancient town in that country, where he obtained great booty After remaining there ten days, he fell back, and the enemy had the audacity to hang upon his rear and harass him with rockets. Eight days' march from Miraj the army encamped on the bank of a river A party was sent out to forage, and a force was ordered to support it. The enemy attacked this force, and a sharp fight ensued, but the assailants were repulsed and pursued for two *kos* While the army was resting on the banks of the river Bhúnrá, an Imperial *farmán* arrived, directing Khán-zamán to return to the royal presence, to receive instructions for the reduction of the fort of Junír and the punishment of Sáhu The reason for this was

that 'Ádil Khán had submitted, had agreed to pay a tribute equivalent to twenty *lacs* in jewels, elephants, etc, and engaged that if Sáhú returned and surrendered Junír and the other forts in the Nizám-Sháhí territory to the Imperial officers, he would take him into his service; but if Sáhú did not do so, he would assist the Imperial forces in reducing the forts and punishing Sáhú

[*Capture by Khan-khanan of the forts of Ankí and Tankí, Alka and Palka, eighteen kos from Daulatabád*]

[*Farman containing the terms of peace with 'A'dil Khan, and letter of the latter in acknowledgment Letter of homage from Kutbu-l Mulk Summary of Shah Jahan's two expeditions to the Dakhin, the first in his father's lifetime, the second after his own accession*]

'A'dil Khan of Bijapúr

[Text, vol i part 2, p 202] While the Emperor was still thinking about the reduction of the forts of the Dakhin, 'Ádil Khán, being disturbed by the prolonged stay of the Imperial Court, wrote a letter to the Emperor, representing that the affairs of that country were now all settled, and that he would be answerable for the surrender of the forts held by Sáhú and others There was therefore no reason for the Emperor's staying any longer, and it would be a great favour if he would proceed to the capital, so that the *raiyats* and people of Bíjápúr might return peacefully to their avocations The Emperor graciously consented, and resolved to go and spend the rainy season at Mándú 'Ádil Khán's tribute, consisting of * *, arrived, and was accepted. The Emperor confirmed to him the territory of Bíjápúr and the fortress of Parenda, which had formerly belonged to Nizámu-l Mulk, but which the commandant had surrendered to 'Ádil Khán for a bribe He also confirmed to him all the country of Kokan on the sea-shore, which had been formerly held half by him and half by Nizámu-l Mulk [*Copy of the treaty*]

Prince Aurangzeb, Governor of the Dakhin

[Text, vol. i part 2, p. 205.] On the 3rd Zí-l hijja the Emperor appointed Prince Aurangzeb to the government of the Dakhin. This country contains sixty-four forts, fifty-three of which are situated on hills, the remaining eleven are in the plain. It is divided into four *subas*: 1. Daulatábád, with Ahmadnagar and other districts, which they call the *súba* of the Dakhin. The capital of this province, which belonged to Nizámu-l Mulk, was formerly Ahmadnagar, and afterwards Daulatábád. 2. Telingána. This is situated in the *súba* of the Bálághát.[1] 3. Khándes. The fortress of this province is Asír, and the capital is Burhánpúr, situated four *kos* from Asír. 4. Birár. The capital of this province is Elichpúr, and its famous fortress is called Gáwíl. It is built on the top of a hill, and is noted above all the fortresses in that country for strength and security. The whole of the third province and a part of the fourth is in the Páyín-ghát. The *jama'*, or total revenue of the four provinces is two *arbs* of *dams*, equivalent to five crores of rupees.

[*Treaty with Kutbu-l Mulk. Letter from the latter.*]

[*Khan-daurán besieges Udgir and U'sa, and both forts are eventually surrendered.*]

TENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1046 A.H. (1636 A.D.)

Conquest of the Fort of Junír and Settlement of the Dakhin

[Text, vol. i. part 2, p. 225.] When Khán-zamán returned from the Emperor to his army, he learnt that Sáhú had declined entering into the service of 'Adil Khán, and refused to surrender Junír and the other fortresses to the Imperial officers. 'Adil Khán therefore sent his forces, under the command of Randaula, to co-operate with the Imperial army in the destruction of Sáhú,

[1] The *Sháh Jahán-náma* adds, "The capital of which is called Nánder and the fortress Kandahár."

and the reduction of his fortresses. Khán-zamán hastened to Junír, * * * and invested the fortress Being satisfied with the arrangements for the siege, he determined to march against Sáhú, who was in the neighbourhood of Púna When he reached the Khorandí, he was detained on its banks for a month by the heavy rains and the inundations As soon as the waters abated, he crossed the river, and encamped on the banks of the I'ndán, near Lohgánw, and Sáhú, who was seventeen *kos* distant, then made into the mountains of Gondhána and Núrand. There were were three large swollen rivers, the I'ndán, the Mol, and the Mota,[1] between Khán-zamán and Sáhú * * The Khán therefore sent an officer to consult with Randaula. The opinion of that commander coincided with Khán-zamán's in favour of the pursuit, and the latter began his march * * Sáhú then fled with great haste by the pass of Kombha,[2] and entered the Kokan * * Finding no support there, he returned by the pass of Kombha The Imperial forces then entered the Kokan by the same pass, and Randaula also was closing up Sáhú then went off to Máhúlí, * * and from thence to the fort of Múranjan,[3] situated between the hills and the jungle Khán-zamán followed * * * On discovering the approach of his pursuers, Sáhú hastily sent off a portion of his baggage, and abandoned the rest. * * * The pursuers having come up, put many of the rebels to the sword * * Being still pursued, Sáhú went again to Máhúlí, hoping to get away by Trimbak and Tringalwárí,[4] but, fearing lest he should encounter the royal forces, he halted at Máhúlí He retained a party of his adherents, who had long followed him, and the rest of his men he disbanded, and allowed them to go where they would Then, with his son and a portion of his baggage, he went into the fort, resolved to stand a siege

[1] The Indiranee, Moola, and Moota of the Maps, near Púna.
[2] In the Ghats, Lat 18 20
[3] Or "Muroranjan" in the Ghats, Lat 18 50
[4] A little N of the Tal Ghát

Khán-zamán got intelligence of this when he was twelve *kos* from Máhúlí, and, notwithstanding the difficulties of the road, he reached the fort in one day. * * He immediately opened his trenches and made approaches * * A few days after, Randaula came up, and joined in the siege * * When the place was hard pressed, Sáhú wrote repeatedly to Khán-zamán, offering to surrender the fortress on condition of being received into the Imperial service. He was informed that if he wished to save his life, he must come to terms with 'Ádil Khán, for such was the Emperor's command He was also advised to be quick in doing so, if he wished to escape from the swords of the besiegers So he was compelled to make his submission to 'Ádil Khán, and he besought that a treaty might be made with him After the arrival of the treaty, he made some absurd inadmissible demands, and withdrew from the agreement he had made. But the siege was pressed on, and the final attack drew near, when Sáhú came out of the fort and met Randaula half way down the hill, and surrendered himself with the young Nizám He agreed to enter the service of 'Ádil Khán, and to surrender the fortress of Junír and the other forts to the Imperial generals * * * Accordingly the forts of Junír Timbak, Tringalwárí, Harís, Júdhan, Júnd, and Harsirá, were delivered over to Khán-zamán * * Randaula, under the orders of 'Ádil Khán, placed the young Nizám in the hands of Khán-zamán, and then went to Bijápúr, accompanied by Sáhú

[*Khan-dauran takes possession of the forts of Kataljalú, and Ashta, and besieges and storms the fort of Nagpur*]

Nizamu-l Mulk

[Text, vol. i part 2, p 256] On the 1st Zí-l hijja, 1046 A.H , Prince Murád Bakhsh, Yamínu-d daula Khán-daurán Bahádur Nusrat Jang,[1] and others went forth to meet Prince Aurangzeb, who had returned to Court from the Dakhin * * He brought

[1] He had been honoured with this title for his late victories

with him the member of Nizámu-l Mulk's family [1] whom the disaffected of the Dakhin had made use of for their rebellious purposes, and to whom they had given the title of Nizámu-l Mulk He was placed under the charge of Saiyid Khán-Jahán, to be kept in the fort of Gwálior, where there were two other of the Nizáms—one of whom was made prisoner at the capture of Ahmadnagar in the reign of Jahángír, and the other at the downfall of Daulatábád in the present reign * * On the 4th, the news came that Khán-zamán had died at Daulatábád from a complication of diseases of long standing * * Sháyista Khán was appointed to succeed him in his command

The Bundelas

[Text, vol i part 2, p 270] The Bundelas are a turbulent troublesome race Notwithstanding that Jajhár, their chief, had been slain, the rebellious spirits of the tribe had taken no warning, but had set up a child of his named Pirthí Ráj, who had been carried off alive from the field of battle, and they had again broken out in rebellion. * * Khán-daurán Bahádur Nusrat Jang was ordered to suppress this insurrection, and then to proceed to his government in Málwá

Storm at Thatta

[p 276] On the 23rd Rabí'u-l awwal letters were received from Thatta, reporting that rain had fallen incessantly for thirty-six hours in all the towns and places near the sea-shore. Many houses and buildings were destroyed, and great numbers of men and beasts of all kinds were drowned. The wind blew so furiously that huge trees were torn up by their roots, and the waves of the sea cast numbers of fishes on to the shore. Nearly a thousand ships, laden and unladen, went down from the violence of the sea, and heavy losses fell upon the ship-owners. The land also, over which the waves were driven, became impregnated with salt, and unfit for cultivation

[1] This individual, like all the others, is sarcastically called "Be-Nizám"

Conquest of Tibet.

[Text, vol. i part 2, p 281] The late Emperor Jahángír long entertained the design of conquering Tibet, and in the course of his reign Háshim Khán, son of Kásim Khán *Mír-bahr*, governor of Kashmír, under the orders of the Emperor, invaded the country with a large force of horse and foot and local *zamíndárs* But although he entered the country, and did his best, he met with no success, and was obliged to retreat with great loss and with much difficulty * * The Imperial order was now given that Zafar Khán, governor of Kashmír, should assemble the forces under his command, and effect the conquest of that country Accordingly he collected nearly eight thousand horse and foot, composed of Imperial forces, men of his own, and retainers of the *marzbans* of his province He marched by the difficult route of Karcha-barh, and in the course of one month he reached the district of Shkardú, the first place of importance in Tibet, and on this side of the Níláb (Indus) 'Alí Rái, father of Abdál, the present *Marzban* of Tibet, had built upon the summits of two high mountains two strong forts—the higher of which was called Kaharphúcha, and the other Kahchana Each of them had a road of access "like the neck of a reed, and the curve of a talon " The road of communication between the two was on the top of the mountain Abdál shut himself up in the fort of Kaharphúcha He placed his minister and general manager in the fort of Kahchana, and he sent his family and property to the fort of Shakar, which stands upon a high mountain on the other side of the Níláb

Zafar Khán, after examining the height and strength of the fortresses, was of opinion that it was inexpedient to invest and attack them, but he saw that the military and the peasantry of Tibet were much distressed by the harsh rule of Abdál, and he resolved to win them over by kindness Then he sent a detachment to subdue the fort of Shakar, and to make prisoners of the family of Abdál The whole time which the army could keep

the field in this country was two months, for if it remained longer, it would be snowed up. It was for this reason that he sent Mír Fakhru-d dín, * * with four thousand men, against the fort of Shakar, while he himself watched the fort in which Abdál was. He next sent Hasan, nephew of Abdál, with some other men of Tibet, who had entered into the Imperial service, and some *zamíndárs* of Kashmír, who had friendly relations with the people of the country, to endeavour by persuasion and promises to gain over the people. * * Mír Fakhr passed over the river Níláb, and laid siege to the fort. Daulat, son of Abdál, of about fifteen years of age, was in charge of the fort. He sallied out to attack the besiegers, * * but was driven back with loss. * * The besiegers then advanced, and opened their trenches against the gate on the Shkardú side. The son of Abdál was so frightened by these proceedings, that, regardless of his father's family (in the fort), he packed up the gold, silver, and what was portable, and escaped in the night by the Káshghar gate. Mír Fakhru-d dín, being apprised of his flight, entered the fort. He could not restrain his followers from plundering, but he took charge of Abdál's family. A force was sent in pursuit of the son, which could not overtake him, but returned with some gold and silver he had thrown away on the road.

On hearing of this victory, Zafar Khán pressed on the siege of Kaharphúcha and Kahchana. * * The governor and garrison of the latter surrendered. * * Abdál, in despair at the progress made by the invaders, and at the loss of his wives and children, opened negociations and surrendered the fort of Kaharphúcha. * * Zafar Khán was apprehensive that the snow would fall and close the passes, and that, at the instigation of Abdál, he might be attacked from the side of Kashmír. So, without making any settlement of the country, and without searching after Abdál's property, he set out on his return, taking with him Abdál, his family, and some of the leading men of the enemy. He left Muhammad Murád, Abdál's *wakíl*, in charge of the country.

Eleventh Year of the Reign, 1047 A.H (1637 A.D.).

Capture of Kandahár and other forts.[1]

[Text, vol ii p. 24] The strong fortress of Kandahár was annexed to the Imperial dominions in the fortieth year of the Emperor Akbar. * * Sháh Safí of Persia, was desirous of recovering it. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Jahángír, Prince Sháh Jahán was sent to arrange the affairs of the Dakhin, * * and the Sháh of Persia seized the opportunity to make an attempt to recover the place He invested it, and after a siege of forty-five days reduced the fortress in the seventeenth year of Jahángír * * After a time, 'Alí Mardán Khán was appointed governor of Kandahár, * * * and Sháh Jahán, being desirous of recovering the place, directed his governor of Kábul to send an able emissary to 'Alí Mardán Khán, who was to learn what he could about the fortress and its garrison, and to make overtures to 'Alí Mardán Khán. * * The envoy was received very graciously, * * and friendly relations were established between 'Alí Mardán Khán and the governor of Kábul, * * so that the Khán at length wrote, expressing his desire to surrender the place to Sháh Jahán * * On the approach of the Imperial forces, 'Alí Mardán Khán conducted them into the fortress, and gave it up to them. * * The governor of Kábul was directed to proceed to Kandahár, and to present a *lac* of rupees to 'Alí Mardán Khán. He was then to take the Khán to Kábul, and to send him under escort to the Imperial Court, with all his family and dependents * * The Emperor sent 'Alí Mardán Khán a *khil'at* [*and many other fine presents. Engagement between Sa'íd Khan, governor of Kabul, and the Persians, and defeat of the latter Capture by siege of the forts of Bust, Zamíndáwar, and Girishk.*] All the country of Kandahár with its fortresses [*enumerated in detail*] were re-annexed to the Imperial dominions.

[1] The account of this siege is told in great detail

Rebellion in Kúch-Hájú

[Text, vol ii p. 64] On the north of the country of Bengal there are two countries Kúch-Hájú, a cultivated country, which lies on the banks of the Brahmaputra, a large river, two *kos* in width, which flows from the country of Áshám (Assam) into Bengal From thence to Jahángír-nagar (Dacca) is one month's journey The other country is Kúch-Bihár, which is far away from the river, and is twenty days' journey from Jahángír-nagar These two countries belonged to local rulers (*marzbán*), and at the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Jahángír, the country of Kúch-Hájú was under the rule of Paríchhit, and Kúch-Bihár under Lachhmí Naráín, brother of the grandfather of Paríchhit In the eighth year of the reign, Sháh Jahán gave the government of Bengal to Shaikh 'Aláu-d dín Fathpúri, who had received the title of Islám Khán Raghunáth, Zamíndár of Susang, came to him, complaining that Paríchhit had tyrannically and violently placed his wives and children in prison. His allegations appeared to be true. At the same time, Lachhmí Naráin repeatedly represented his devotion to the Imperial government, and incited Islám Khán to effect the conquest of Kúch-Hájú He accordingly sent a force to punish Paríchhit, and to subjugate the country [*Long details of the operations*] When the victorious army reached the river Kajlí, some men were sent over first in boats, who in a short time defeated and put to flight the guard of the place The whole force then crossed and destroyed some old forts A strong fort was then constructed on each side of the Kajlí, and * * garrisons were placed in them to check and keep down the turbulent landholders The army then proceeded to Koh-hatah, towards Útarkol, between Sri-ghát and the Kajlí, there to pass the rains

Conquest of Baglána

[Text, vol. ii p. 105.] The territory of Baglána contains nine forts, thirty-four *parganas*, and one thousand and one

villages. It has been a separate jurisdiction *(marzbání)* for one thousand four hundred years, and its present ruler is named Bharjí It is famous for its temperate climate, its numerous streams and the abundance of its trees and fruits In length it is a hundred *kos*, and in breadth eighty. On the east is Chándor, a dependency of Daulatabád, on the west the port of Surat and the sea, on the north Sultánpúr and Nandurbár, and on the south Násik and Trimbak * * The strongest of its forts are Sálhír and Múlhír [1] Sálhír is placed upon a hill * * Múlhír also stands upon a hill * * When Prince Aurangzeb was sent to the government of the Dakhin, he was directed to subjugate this country On the 8th Sha'bán, 1047 H (Dec 1637), he sent an army against it, * * which advanced and laid siege to Múlhír The trenches were opened and the garrison was pressed so hard that, on the 10th Shawwál, Bharjí sent out his mother and his *vakíl* with the keys of his eight forts, offering to enrol himself among the servants of the Imperial throne, on condition of receiving the *pargana* of Sultánpúr * * When this proposal reached the Emperor, he granted Bharjí a *mansab* of three thousand personal and 2500 horse, and Sultánpúr was conferred upon him for his home

TWELFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1048 A.H (1638 A D)

[*Submission of Manik Rai, the Mag Raja of Chatgam*]

[Text, vol ii p 123] On the 13th Rajab, the Imperial train reached Lahore, * * and 'Alí Mardán Khán, who had come from Kandahár, was received with great ceremony He was presented with [*numerous rich gifts*], and his *mansab* was increased from 5000 to 6000 personal and 6000 horse * * Before the end of the month he was appointed governor of Kashmír, * * and shortly afterwards he was presented with five *lacs* of rupees and ten parcels of the choice fabrics of the

[1] "Moolker" lies about half way, a little west, of a line drawn from Chándor to Nandurbár

looms of Bengal The Emperor afterwards did him the honour of paying him a visit at his house [*The Imperial progress from Lahore to Kábul and back again*]

Little Tibet.

[Text, vol ii p 159] The conquest of Little Tibet, the captivity of its ruler Abdál, and the appointment of Ádam Khán to be governor, have been previously mentioned. Ádam Khán now wrote to 'Alí Mardán Khán, the new governor of Kashmir, informing him that Sangí Bamkhal, the holder of Great Tibet, * * had seized upon Búrag in Little Tibet, and meditated further aggression. 'Ali Mardán Khán sent a force against him under the command of Husain Beg * * On the meeting of the two forces, Sangí's men were put to flight * * He then sued for forgiveness, and offered to pay tribute

THIRTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1049 A H (1639 A D)

[Text, vol ii p 163] On the 21st Jumáda-s sání, the Emperor arrived at Lahore * * 'Alí Mardán Khán came down from Kashmír * * His *mansab* was increased to 7000 personal and 7000 horse, * * and the government of the *Panjáb was given to him in addition to that of Kashmír* * * *On the 6th Rajab, Islám Khán came according to summons from* Bengal, and was appointed to the office of Financial Minister *(diwáni-kull)*

'Alí Mardán's Lahore Canal

[Text, vol. ii p 168] 'Alí Mardán Khán represented to His Majesty that one of his followers was an adept in the forming of canals, and would undertake to construct a canal from the place where the river Rávi descends from the hills into the plains, and to conduct the waters to Lahore, benefiting the cultivation of the country through which it should pass The Emperor

* * gave to the Khán one *lac* of rupees, a sum at which experts estimated the expense, and the Khán then entrusted its formation to one of his trusted servants

[*Advance of an army from Sístan against Kandahar.—Occupation and abandonment of the fort of Khanshí, near Bust.*]

[*Great fire at the residence of Prince Shuja' in A'gra.—Royal visit to Kashmir.*]

In the month of Muharram intelligence came in that Pirthi Ráj, son of Jajhár Bundela, had been taken prisoner * * Orders were given for his confinement in the fort of Gwálior.

FOURTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1050 A.H. (1640 A.D.)

[*Chastisement of the Kolis and Kathis in Gujarát.—Payment of tribute by the Jam of Kathiwár.*]

[*Rebellion of Jagat Singh, son of Raja Básu of Kangra.*]

FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1051 A.H. (1641 A.D.)

Death of A'saf Khán Khan-khánan

[Text, vol. ii. p. 257.] On the 17th Sha'bán Yamínu-d daula A'saf Khán Khán-khánán, commander-in-chief, departed this life, * * and on receiving the intelligence, His Majesty was much affected, and gave orders that he should be buried on the west side of the tomb of the late Emperor Jahángír, and that a lofty dome should be raised over his grave. * * He had risen to a rank and dignity which no servant of the State had ever before attained. By the munificent favour of the Emperor, his *mansab* was nine thousand personal and nine thousand horse, *do-aspah* and *sih-aspah*, the pay of which amounted to sixteen *krors* and twenty *lacs* of *dams*. When these had all received their pay, a sum of fifty *lacs* of rupees was left for himself. * * Besides the mansion which he had built in Lahore, and on which he expended twenty *lacs* of rupees, he left money and valuables to the amount of two *krors* and fifty *lacs* of

rupees. There were 30 *lacs* of rupees in jewels, three *lacs* of *ashrafis* equal to 42 *lacs* of rupees, one *kror* and 25 *lacs* in rupees, 30 *lacs* in gold and silver utensils, and 23 *lacs* in miscellaneous articles

[*Campaign in Jagat Singh's territory Capture of Mú, Núrpúr, and other forts. Surrender of Táragarh, and submission of Jagat Singh*]

SIXTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1052 A H (1642 A D)

SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1053 A H (1643 A D)

[*Reduction of Pálamún, and submission of its Raja*]

[Text, vol ii p 376] At the beginning of Rabí'u-s sání, it was made known to the Emperor that Prince Aurangzeb, under the influence of ill-advised, short-sighted companions, had determined to withdraw from worldly occupations, and to pass his days in retirement His Majesty disapproved of this, and took from the Prince his *mansab* and his *jagir*, and dismissed him from the office of Governor-General of the Dakhin Khán-daurán Bahádur Nusrat Jang was appointed to succeed him

EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1054 A H (1644 A D).

[*'Ali Mardán Khan Amiru-l Umara sent to chastise Tardi 'Ali Katghán of Balkh —Successful result*]

[p 385] On the 29th Zí-l hijja, Prince Aurangzeb was appointed Governor of Gujarát * *

NINETEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1055 A.H (1645 A D)

[*Affairs of Nazar Muhammad Khan of Balkh—Operations in Kábul*]

[p. 411] On the 29th Shawwál, 1055, died Núr Jahán Begam, widow of the late Emperor Jahángír After her marriage with the Emperor, she obtained such an ascendency over him, and exercised such absolute control over civil and

revenue matters, that it would be unseemly to dilate upon it here. After the accession of the Emperor Sháh Jahán, he settled an annual allowance of two *lacs* of rupees upon her[1]

Campaign against Balkh and Badakhshan.

[Text, vol ii p 482] Ever since the beginning of his reign, the Emperor's heart had been set upon the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshán, which were hereditary territories of his house, and were the keys to the acquisition of Samarkand, the home and capital of his great ancestor Tímúr Sáhib-Kirán He was more especially intent on this because Nazar Muhammad Khán had had the presumption to attack Kábul, from whence he had been driven back in disgrace The prosecution of the Emperor's cherished enterprise had been hitherto prevented by various obstacles, * * but now the foundations of the authority of Nazar Muhammad were shaken, and his authority in Balkh was precarious * * So the Emperor determined to send his son Murád Bakhsh with fifty thousand horse, and ten thousand musketeers, rocket-men and gunners, to effect the conquest of that country * * On the last day of Zí-l hijja, 1055 H, the Emperor gave his farewell to Prince Murád Bakhsh, to Amíru-l Umará ('Alí Mardán Khán),[2] and the other officers sent on this service [*Plan of campaign * * Progress of the Emperor to Kabul—Details of the campaign—Capture of the fort of Kahmard and the stronghold of Ghori—Conquest of Kunduz and Balkh, and flight of Nazar Muhammad—Revenues of Nazar Muhammad.*]

TWENTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1056 A H (1646 A D).

[*Prince Murád Bakhsh desires to retire from Balkh—Displeasure of the Emperor expressed in a despatch—The Prince*

[1] Kháfi Khan says that after Jahángír's death she wore only white clothes, she never went to parties of amusement of her own accord, but lived in private and in sorrow She was buried at Lahore in a tomb she had built for herself by the side of Jahángír

[2] Who was of course the real commander.

persists.] Many of the *amírs* and *mansabdárs* who were with the prince concurred in this unreasonable desire. Natural love of home, a preference for the ways and customs of Hindustán, a dislike of the people and the manners of Balkh, and the rigours of the climate, all conduced to this desire. This resolution became a cause of distress among the *raiyats*, of despondency among the soldiery, and of hesitation among the men who were coming into Balkh from all quarters. The soldiers, seeing this vacillation, began to plunder and oppress the people. So, when the Prince's desire was repeatedly expressed, the Emperor's anger was increased. He deprived the prince of his *mansab*, and took from him his *tuyúl* of Multán. Under these circumstances, to settle the confusion in Balkh, the Emperor found it necessary to send there a trustworthy and able manager; so he selected Sa'du-lla Khán, his prime minister. [*Fighting in Badakhshán.—Settlement of Balkh.*] Sa'du-lla Khán returned on the 5th Sha'ban, 1056 H., having settled the affairs of Balkh, and restored order and tranquillity among the soldiers and people, and rescued the country from wretchedness. He had most effectually carried out the orders of the Emperor, and was rewarded with a *khil'at*, and a thousand increase to his *mansab*. [*Prince Murad Bakhsh restored to his mansab of* 12,000.—*Much fighting near Balkh and Shaburghan.*][1]

Aurangzeb sent to Balkh.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 627.] On the 24th Zí-l hijja, 1056, the Emperor bestowed the countries of Balkh and Badakhshán on Aurangzeb, and increased his *mansab* to 15,000 personal and ten thousand horse, eight thousand being *do-aspahs* or *sih-aspahs*. * * He was directed to proceed to Peshâwar, and on the arrival of spring to march to Balkh, in company with Amíru-l Umará 'Alí Mardán Khán, and a body of Rájpúts, who had left Balkh and Badakhshán in disgust, and had come to Peshâwar, where they

[1] See *suprà* Vol. II. p. 478.

were stopped by an Imperial order directing the officers at Atak not to allow them to cross the Indus.

The Emperor proceeds to Kábul

[Text, vol ii p 637] By the reports of the commanders in Balkh and Badakhshán, the Emperor was informed that 'Abdu-l 'Azíz Khán, governor of Turán, * * intended to invade Balkh at the beginning of spring. On the 15th Muharram Prince Aurangzeb was sent on to Balkh with a body of Imperial soldiers, and the Emperor himself determined to leave Lahore and go to Kábul for the third time

[*Long details of fighting in Balkh and Badakhshán, ending abruptly with a statement of the errors made on the Imperial side*]

LXIII

SHÁH JAHÁN-NÁMA

OF

'INÁYAT KHÁN

[MUHAMMAD TAHIR, who received the title of 'Ináyat Khán, and was poetically named 'Ashná, was son of Zafar Khán bin Khwája Abú-l Hasan

Zafar Khán, the author's father, was *wazír* of Jahángír In the reign of Sháh Jahán, he was at one time ruler of Kábul, and afterwards of Kashmír, during which latter government he effected the conquest of Tibet recorded in the foregoing pages (p 62) At a later period he was appointed to the administration of Thatta "He was celebrated as a poet, as a patron of letters, and as a just and moderate ruler"

'Inayat Khán's maternal grandfather, Saif Khán, was governor of Ágra, and when Prince Shujá' was appointed ruler of Bengal, Saif Khán was sent thither to conduct the administration until the arrival of the prince

The author, it appears, was born in the year that Sháh Jahán came to the throne In the seventh year of his age he received, as he informs us, "a suitable *mansab*" He was sent to join his father in Kashmír while he was governor there He was afterwards *daroghá-i dágh*, and subsequently employed in a more congenial office in the Imperial Library. "He inherited his father's talents and good qualities, and is said even to have surpassed him in ability He was witty and of agreeable manners, and was one of the intimate friends of Sháh Jahán Latterly he

retired from office, and settled in Kashmír, where he died in A. H. 1077 (A. D. 1666). In addition to the history of Sháh Jahán's reign, he was author of a *Díwán* and three *Masnawís*."[1]

The sources of the first part of this *Sháh Jahán-náma* are plainly acknowledged by the author. The first twenty years are in entire agreement with the *Badshah-náma*, but are written in a more simple style. The history comes down to 1068 A. H. (1657-8 A. D.), the year in which Aurangzeb was declared Emperor, but of this event he takes no notice. The author does not inform us whether he used any other work after the *Badshah-náma* as the basis of his own, or whether the history of the last ten years is his own independent work.

The following is the author's own account of his work translated from his Preface.

"The writer of these wretched lines, Muhammad Táhir, commonly known as Ashná, but bearing the title of 'Ináyat Khán bin Muzaffar Khán bin Khwája Abú-l Hasan, represents to the attention of men of intelligence, and acumen that in Rabí'u-l awwal, in the 31st year of the reign of the Emperor Sháh Jahán [*six lines of titles and phrases*], corresponding to 1068 H., he was appointed superintendent of the Royal Library, and there he found three series of the *Badshah-nama*, written by Shaikh 'Abdu-l Hamíd Láhorí and others, each series of which comprised the history of ten years of the illustrious reign. The whole of these memoirs completed one *karn*, which is an expression signifying thirty years. Memoirs of the remaining four years were written after his death by others. The author desires to observe that the style of these volumes seemed difficult and diffuse to his simple mind, and so he reflected that, although Shaikh Abú-l Fazl was ordered by the Emperor Akbar to write the history of his reign, yet Khwája Nizámu-d dín Ahmad Bakhshí wrote a distinct history of that reign, which he called the *Tabakát-i Akbar-shahí*. Jannat-makání Nuru-d dín Muhammad Jahángír, imitating the example of his ancestor the Emperor Zahíru-d dín

[1] Morley's Catalogue.

Muhammad Bábar, himself wrote a history of his own reign, yet Mu'tamad Khán Bakhshí wrote a history of that reign, to which he gave the title of *Ikbal-náma-i Jahangiri* Ghairat Khán Nakshabandí also brought together the chief events of that reign in a book which he called *Ma-asir-i Jahangiri* (With these examples before him), it seemed to the writer of these pages that, as he and his ancestors had been devoted servants of the Imperial dynasty, it would be well for him to write the history of the reign of Sháh Jahán in a simple and clear style, and to reproduce the contents of the three volumes of Shaikh 'Abdu-l Hamid in plain language and in a condensed form Such a work (he thought) would not be superfluous, but rather a gain So he set about his work, and the Almighty gave him leisure, so that in a short time he completed it. The history from the fourth to the tenth year is based on the *Padshah-nama* of Muhammad Amín Kazwíní, commonly known as Amínái Munshí, which is written in a more simple style. And as only a selection has been made of the events recorded, this work is styled *Mulakhkhas* "

The title *Mulakhkhas* "Abridgment," which the author gave to his work, was too indefinite to last, and it is commonly known as *Shah Jahan-nama*

MSS of this work seem to be common Sir H M Elliot has three borrowed copies There are three in the British Museum, and one in the Library of the Asiatic Society A copy belonging to the Rájá of Benares is a handsome quarto of 12 inches × 8½, and contains 360 leaves of 19 lines to the page The whole of this work, from the beginning of the third year of the reign to the accession of Aurangzeb, with which it closes, was translated by the late Major Fuller. It fills 561 folio pages of close writing, and is in Sir H M Elliot's Library The following Extracts are taken from that translation]

Extracts.

Twenty-first Year of the Reign, 1057 A.H. (1647 A.D.)

In the news from Balkh, which reached the ear of royalty about this time, through the representations of the victorious Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur, was the following:— Nazar Muhammad Khán, who, after abandoning the siege of fort Maimanah, had stood fast at Nílchirágh,[1] continued watching, both day and night, the efforts of 'Abdu-l 'Azíz Khán and his other sons, who were gone to oppose the royal army with all the Uzbek forces of Máwaráu-n Nahr, Balkh and Badakhshán, anxious to see what would be the result. As soon as he heard that they also had, like himself, become wanderers in the desert of failure, *owing to the superior prowess and vigour of the royalists*, finding his hopes everywhere shattered, he despatched an apologizing letter to the illustrious Prince, expressive of his contrition for past misdeeds, and ardent longing for an interview with His Royal Highness, stating that he was desirous of retrieving his fallen fortunes, through the intercessions of that ornament of the throne of royalty. The illustrious Prince having kept the envoy in attendance till the receipt of an answer, waited in expectation of the *farmán's* arrival, and the Khán's letter, which His Royal Highness had forwarded to Court in the original, with some remarks of his own, was duly submitted to the auspicious perusal. As it happened, *from the commencement* of his invasion of Balkh, this very design had been buried in the depths of his comprehensive mind, viz. that after clearing the kingdoms of Balkh and Badakhshán from the thorny briers of turbulence and anarchy, he should restore them in safety to Nazar Muhammad Khán. The latter, however, scorning the dictates of prudence, hastened to Írán; but finding his affairs did not progress there to his satisfaction, he turned back, and at the suggestion of the Kalmáks and other associates, came and besieged the fort of Maimanah, in order that he might seek

[1] [Also written Pulchirágh or Bilchirágh.]

shelter within its walls, and so set his mind at rest In the end, however, after infinite toil and labour, seeing the capture of the stronghold in question to be beyond his reach, he departed without effecting his object, and moved to Nílchirágh, all which occurrences have been already fully detailed in their proper place From the letters of reporters in those dominions, it was further made known to his world-adorning understanding, that notwithstanding the servants of the crown had manifested the most laudable zeal and anxiety to console the hearts of the peasantry in Balkh and Badakhshán by giving them seed, and assisting them to plough and till their fields yet, owing to the inroads of the Almáns, most of the grain and crops had been destroyed, and the populous places desolated, and that the commanders of the army, and the chiefs of the soldiery, owing to the dearth of provisions and the scarcity of grain, were extremely disgusted, and averse to remaining any longer in the country From the contents of the Prince's letter, moreover, his unwillingness to stay at that capital was also discerned Taking all this into consideration therefore, an edict was issued, directing His Royal Highness to deliver up Balkh and Badakhshán to Nazar Muhammad Khán, provided the latter would come and have an interview with him, and then set out with all the victorious forces for Hindustán, the type of Paradise

Cession of Balkh and Badakhshan to Nazar Muhammad Khán, and Retreat of Aurangzeb

* * * On the 4th of the month of Ramazán, early in the morning, which was the time selected for Nazar Muhammad Khán's interview, news came in that he had sent his grandson Muhammad Kásim, son of Khusrú Sultán, in company with Kafsh Kalmák and several chiefs, and that they had all advanced two *kos* beyond the bridge of Khatab. The Prince, appreciating the gradations of rank, deputed his son, Muhammad Sultán, along with Bahádur Khán and some other

nobles, to go and meet him, and that early fruit of the orchard of royalty having dutifully obeyed the command, brought the individual in question into his noble father's presence The Prince, well versed in etiquette, then folded Muhammad Kásim in a fond embrace, and placed him in an adjoining seat, after which, Kafsh Kalmák delivered the Khán's letter, full of apologies for not having come in consequence of an attack of indisposition, and represented that the Khán, being obliged to forego the pleasure of an interview, had sent Muhammad Kásim as his representative, with a view to remove all suspicion of his having wilfully broken his promise

After dismissing Muhammad Kásim, the Prince addressed the commanders of the army in that country, viz * * saying, his instructions were, to deliver over Balkh and Badakhshán to Nazar Muhammad Khán, after the interview, but now that the latter had only sent his grandson, excusing himself on the pretended plea of sickness, he could not carry out this measure without a distinct order He told them to take into consideration, however, that the country was desolated, winter close at hand, grain scarce, and time short, so that there would be great difficulty in making arrangements for the winter, and remaining in the kingdom during that inclement season, and asked them what was their opinion on the subject The principal chiefs replied, that the passes of the Hindu Koh were just about to be covered by snow, when the road would be blocked up, so that, if he reported the matter, and waited the arrival of instructions, the opportunity would slip through his hands They therefore came to the unanimous conclusion, that His Royal Highness should recall all the governors of forts and persons in charge of places around Balkh

As a vast number of mercenary soldiers, consisting of Uzbeks and Almáns, had crossed the river Jíhún, and spread themselves over those regions, and wherever they saw a concourse of people, took the first opportunity of assailing them, Rájá

Jai Singh was despatched to Turmuz to fetch Sa'ádat Khán The Prince was also on the point of starting off Bahádur Khán to bring back Rustam Khán from Andkhod, and Shád Khán from Maimanah, so that they might rejoin the army in safety In the interim, however, a letter arrived from Rustam Khán, saying, that as he had ascertained that the country was to be delivered up to Nazar Muhammad Khán, he had set out from Andkhod to Maimanah, with the intention of taking Shád Khán from thence in company with him, and proceeding towards Kábul by way of San-chárík The Prince then marched with all the royal forces from the neighbourhood of Faizábád, and encamped at Chalkai, which lies contiguous to the city of Balkh, where, having ceded the country to Nazar Muhammad Khán, he delivered up the town and citadel of Balkh to Muhammad Kásim and Kafsh Kalmák He presented the former of these, on bidding him farewell, with a jewelled dagger, a horse caparisoned with golden trappings, and 50,000 rupees out of the royal treasury He also committed to his charge, among the stores contained in the fort and city, 50,000 *mans* of grain belonging to His Majesty, which, estimated by the rate ruling at that time, was worth five *lacs* of rupees, and besides this, all the granaries of the other forts At this stage, Mirzá Rájá Jai Singh returned from Turmuz, accompanied by Sa'ádat Khán, and joined the army From the beginning of the invasion of Balkh and Badakhshán till the end, when those conquered territories were ceded to Nazar Muhammad Khán, there was expended out of the State exchequer, in the progress of this undertaking, the sum of two *krors* of rupees, which is equivalent to seven *lacs* of the *tumans* current in Irák

To be brief. On the 14th of the aforesaid month of Ramazán, the Prince started from Chalkai with all the royal forces for Kábul He appointed Amíru-l Umará with a party to form the left wing, Mirzá Rájá Jai Singh with his, the right, and Bahádur Khán the rear-guard, whilst he sent on Mu'tamad

Khán, the *Mír-i átish*, with the whole of the royal artillerymen, and Pirthi Ráj Ráthor, as a vanguard, so that the bands of Uzbeks, ever watching for an opportunity of attack, might not be able to harass and cut off the stragglers in the rear of the army, whilst winding through the narrow defiles and passes As it was an arduous task for the whole army to cross the pass of 'Arbang in one day, the victorious Prince himself having marched through it safely, waited on the further side with Amíru-l Umará, till the entire army was over, and by His Royal Highness's order, Bahádur Khán halted at the mouth of the above pass, for the sake of helping the camp and baggage through He was also in the habit of sending some of the troops every day to protect the party who went out to fetch grass and firewood One day, when the turn for this duty came to Shamsher Khán, Khushhál Beg Káshgharí, and others of his countrymen, the Uzbeks, imagining the party to be a small one, advanced, to the number of about 5000 horsemen, and one moiety of them having encompassed Shamsher Khán and his comrades in the midst, the other took up a position on the summit of some eminences Bahádur Khán, having received intimation of this, went to his support, and having made several of those marauders a prey to the sword of vengeance, put the remainder to flight; whilst out of the royal troops some few were wounded. On the third day of the halt, whilst the rest of the army were crossing the pass of 'Arbang, a body of Almáns made their appearance, whereupon Nazar Bahádur Khán, Kheshjí Ratan son of Muhesh Dás, and some others, charged them on one side, and on the other Mu'tamad Khán with the artillerymen, and a number of the Prince's retainers The enemy, unable to withstand the shock, turned and fled, closely pursued by the royalists, who killed and wounded a few of them.

The day they had to march from Ghorí by way of Khwája Zaid, as the road to the next stage, which had been selected on the banks of the Surkháb, was extremely difficult, and there

was a great likelihood of an attack from the Uzbeks and Hazáras, the Prince left Amíru-l Umará at the top of the aforesaid pass, to protect the men who used to follow in rear of the army. As there was an interval of two *kos* between Amíru-l Umará, Bahádur Khán, and the left wing of the army, a portion of the baggage, whilst threading the road, was plundered by the Hazáras. A vast body of them also fell upon the treasure, but Zú-l Kadar Khán, and the rest who were with it, firmly held their ground, and the battle was warmly contested till some part of the night was spent. Amíru-l Umará, having been informed of the circumstance, sent a detachment of his own men to their assistance, whereupon the enemy retreated in confusion. After the camp had advanced beyond Shaburghán, during the march to Nek Bihár and to Chár-chashma, some injury accrued to the troops, in consequence of the narrowness and steepness of the road, and the rolling over of several laden beasts of burden, which were accidentally led along the top of the hill off the path by some of the people who had lost their way. When they started from Chár-chashma for the foot of the Hindú Koh range, it was resolved, for the greater convenience of the troops, that the Prince should first cross the pass, and at the expiration of a day Amíru-l Umará should follow; that after him should come the royal treasure, *kar-khana* (wardrobe) and artillery, with all His Royal Highness's establishment, and in this way, a party having gradually crossed every day, Bahádur Khán, who occupied the rear of the victorious army, should follow last of all. The illustrious Prince, having reached the foot of the pass that day, passed over the Hindú Koh on the next, and though the weather was not intensely cold, yet as snow had fallen previously, and there was a hard frost, the men got over with considerable difficulty.

On the morrow, the Prince reached Ghorband, whence he marched during the night into Kábul. When Amíru-l Umará, who followed one day's march in rear, was encamped at the foot

of the pass, at midnight it began to snow, and continued doing so without intermission till morning, after which the weather became fair, and the Amír having got through the pass with his force, entered Kábul two days after His Royal Highness. As for Rájá Jai Singh, who, the day the camp marched from Surkháb, had stayed behind by the Prince's orders at that place, on account of the narrowness of the road, and the difficulty of the defiles that occurred further on, as soon as he passed Chár-chashma, the snow commenced falling, and never once ceased all that day and the next, during which he halted on the road After arriving at the pass of the Hindú Koh, till crossing over it, the snow kept falling for three more days and nights, and Zú-l Kadar Khán, whose duty it was to guard the treasure, seeing, when four *kos* distant from the Hindú Koh, that a snow-storm was coming on, started at once in the hope of getting the treasure through the pass, before it could have time to stop up the road It chanced, however, that the snow gradually accumulated to such a depth, that most of the camels tumbled down, and nearly half of them were rendered quite unserviceable, so that the Khán in question, despite his utmost exertions, was unable to cross that day In consequence of the intense cold, his comrades, both horse and foot, got dispersed, and saving a few servants of the crown, no one remained with him, nevertheless he stayed on the summit of the ridge, to guard the treasure, notwithstanding the snow-storm In the morning, having laden a portion of it on such of the camels as were capable of travelling, he started it off in advance to Ghorband, escorted by some of the horsemen, whilst he himself with a few others occupied themselves in guarding the remainder, and spent seven days and nights on the top of the Hindú Koh in the midst of snow and intense cold, and with but a scanty supply of provisions, waiting for Bahádur Khán's arrival, who was behind. The fortunes of the latter were as follows. As soon as he reached the pass of Nek Bihár, which is two marches from the Hindú Koh, and has a very precipitous descent, the

snow began to fall, and continued coming down all night till twelve o'clock next day. Owing to the difficulties of the pass, which were greatly enhanced by the heavy fall of snow, he only got the rest of the camp and army through with immense labour At this juncture, the malicious Hazáras, in their eager desire for plunder, assaulted the camp followers more desperately than ever, but Bahádur Khán each time inflicted summary chastisement on the freebooters, and drove them off. After reaching the foot of the Hindú Koh pass, and halting there for a day, he sent on all those who had lagged in the rear, and as soon as they were across, set out himself. As most of the people spent the night on the summit of the pass, on account of the difficult roads, and the intense coldness of a mountain climate, heightened by the deep snow and chilling blasts, some of the men and cattle that were worn out and infirm perished. Accordingly, from the first commencement of the army's crossing to the end, about 5000 men, and a similar number of animals, such as horses, elephants, camels, oxen, etc , were destroyed, and a vast deal of property remained buried in the snow When Bahádur Khán came to the top of the pass, and Zú-l Kadar Khán explained the state of affairs to him, he halted there, and in company with Ikhlás Khán, and some other nobles and *mansabdars* who still stood by him, spent the night on the spot. In the morning, having thrown the baggage off all such of his own camels as he could find, he loaded them with the treasure, and distributed the rest among the horses and camels belonging to the troops Just as he was on the point of starting, a body of Hazáras came up in the rear, and seeing the paucity of his detachment, resolved upon making an assault, for the sake of carrying off the treasure Bahádur Khán, however, faced about, and made some of the doomed wretches a prey to (the crocodile of) his bloodthirsty sword, and routed the remainder He then set out with the treasure, and reached Balkh along with his comrades, after an interval of fourteen days from the time of the Prince's arrival there.

Despatch of a Candlestick to the Glorious City.

Among the events of this year was the despatch of a candlestick studded with gems to the revered tomb of the Prophet (on whom be the greatest favours, and blessings!) an account of which is here given Some time previous to this it was represented that a wonderfully large diamond from a mine in the territory of Golkonda had fallen into the hands of Kutbu-l Mulk, whereupon an order was issued, directing him to forward the same *to Court*, when its estimated value would be taken into account, as part of the two *lacs* of *huns* (pagodas), which was the stipulated amount of his annual tribute He accordingly sent the diamond in question, which weighed in its rough state 180 *ratis*, to Court, and after His Majesty's own lapidaries had cut away as much of the outer surface as was requisite to disclose all its beauties, there remained a rare gem of 100 *ratis* weight, valued by the jewellers at one *lac* and 50,000 rupees As such a valuable diamond as this had never been brought to the threshold, resembling the Elysian abode, since his accession to the throne, the pious monarch, the bulwark of religion, with the best intention, and the utmost sincerity of purpose, made a vow to send it to the pure sepulchre of the last of the Prophets (on whom be peace!) Having therefore selected out of the amber candlesticks that he had amongst his private property the largest of them all, which weighed 700 *tolas*, and was worth 10,000 rupees, he commanded that it should be covered with a network of gold, ornamented on all sides with flowers, and studded with gems, among which that valuable diamond should also be included

In short, that incomparable candlestick cost two *lacs* and 50,000 rupees, of which one *lac* and 50,000 was the price of the diamond, and the remaining *lac* the worth of all the gems and gold, together with the original candlestick Mír Saiyid Ahmad Sa'íd Bahárí, who had once before conveyed charitable presents to the two sacred cities, was then deputed to take charge of this

precious offering; and an edict was promulgated to the effect, that the revenue collectors of the province of Gujarát should purchase a *lac* and 60,000 rupees worth of goods for the sacred fane, and deliver it over to him, so that he might take it along with him from thence. Out of this, he was directed to present 50,000 rupees worth to the Sharíf of Mecca; to sell 60,000 rupees worth, and distribute the proceeds, together with any profit that might accrue, amongst the indigent of that sacred city, and the remaining 50,000, in like manner, amongst those of the glorious Medína. The above-named Saiyid, who was only in receipt of a daily stipend, was promoted to a suitable *mansab*, and having been munificently presented with a dress of honour and a donation of 12,000 rupees, received his dismissal.

Account of the founding of the fort at the Metropolis of Shah-Jahánábad

The following is an exact account of the founding of the splendid fort in the above-named metropolis, with its edifices resembling Paradise, which was constructed in the environs of the city of Dehlí, on the banks of the river Jumna It first occurred to the omniscient mind that he should select on the banks of the aforesaid river some pleasant site, distinguished by its genial climate, where he might found a splendid fort and delightful edifices, agreeably to the promptings of his generous heart, through which streams of water should be made to flow, and the terraces of which should overlook the river When, after a long search, a piece of ground outside of the city of Dehlí, lying between the most distant suburbs and Núrgarh, commonly called Salímgarh, was fixed upon for this purpose, by the royal command, on the night of Friday, the 25th of Zí-l hijja, in the twelfth year of his auspicious reign, corresponding to 1048 A.H., being the time appointed by the astrologers, the foundations were marked out with the usual ceremonies, according to the plan devised, in the august presence. Active labourers were then employed in

digging the foundations, and on the night of Friday, the 9th of Muharram, of the year coinciding with 1049 A.H. (1639 A.D.), the foundation-stone of that noble structure was laid Throughout the Imperial dominions, wherever artificers could be found, whether plain stone-cutters, ornamental sculptors, masons, or carpenters, by the mandate worthy of implicit obedience, they were all collected together, and multitudes of common labourers were employed in the work. It was ultimately completed on the 24th of Rabí'u-l awwal, in the twenty-first year of his reign, corresponding to 1058 A.H., at an outlay of 60 *lacs* of rupees, after taking nine years three months and some days in building

Fíroz Sháh's Canal

The canal that Sultán Fíroz Sháh Khiljí, during the time he reigned at Dehlí, had made to branch off from the river Jumna, in the vicinity of *pargana* Khizrábád, whence he brought it in a channel 30 Imperial *kos* long to the confines of *pargana* Safídún, which was his hunting-seat, and had only a scanty supply of water, had, after the Sultán's death, become in the course of time ruinous. Whilst Shahábu-d dín Ahmad Khán held the government of Dehlí, during the reign of the Emperor Akbar, he put it in repair and set it flowing again, with a view to fertilize the places in his *jagír*, and hence it was called Nahr-i Shaháb; but for want of repairs, however, it again stopped flowing At the time when the sublime attention was turned to the building of this fort and palace, it was commanded that the aforesaid canal from Khizrábád to Safídún should be repaired, and a new channel excavated from the latter spot to the regal residence, which also is a distance of 30 Imperial *kos* After it was thus prolonged, it was designated the Nahr-i Bihisht.

Twenty-Second Year of the Reign, 1058 A.H (1648 A D)

Advance of the Persians against Kandahar.—Despatch of an army thither.

On the 22nd of the month of Ramazán, when the standards of prosperity, after their return from Safídún, were planted at His Majesty's private hunting-seat, it reached the ear of royalty, through the representations of Daulat Khán, ruler of Kandahár, and Purdil Khán, governor of fort Bust,[1] that Sháh 'Abbás the Second, having come to the sacred city of Tús[2] (Mashhad-i Mukaddas), with intent to rescue the kingdom of Kandahár, had proceeded towards the confines of Khurásán, with all his matchlockmen[3] and pioneers It was, besides, reported that he had despatched men to Faráh, Sístán, and other places, to collect supplies of grain, and having sent on a party in advance to Hirát, was doing his utmost to block up the road on this side, being well aware that, during the winter, owing to the quantity of snow on the ground, the arrival of reinforcements from Hindústán by way of Kábul and Multán was impracticable, he proposed advancing in this direction during that inclement season, and had despatched Sháh Kulí Beg, son of Maksúd Beg, his *wazír*, as expeditiously as possible, with a letter to Court, and further that the individual in question had reached Kandahár, and, without halting more than three days, had resumed his journey to the august presence.

His Majesty, after hearing this intelligence, having summoned 'Allámí Sa'du-lla Khán from the metropolis, commanded him to write *farmáns* to all the nobles and *mansabdárs* who were at their respective estates, *jágirs*, and homes, directing them to set out with all speed for Court. It was likewise ordered that the

[1] [See *suprà*, Vol II p 575]

[2] [*Ib* 578]

[3] [The word which Major Fuller so translates is *tufangchí*]

astrologers should determine the proper moment for the departure of the world-traversing camp from the metropolis to the capitals Lahore and Kábul.

Appointment of Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur, 'Allámí Sa'du-lla Khán, etc, to lead the army against Kandahár

As soon as it reached the royal ear, through Daulat Khán's representations, that on the 10th of Zí-l hijja, the Sháh had arrived outside the fortress of Kandahár, and besieged it, the ever-successful Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur was appointed to proceed thither with 'Allámí Sa'du-lla Khán, and some of the chief officers of State, such as Bahádur Khán, Mirzá Rájá Jai Singh, Rustam Khán, Rájá Bithaldás, and Kalích Khán Besides these, there were upwards of fifty individuals from amongst the nobles, and a vast number of *mansabdárs, ahadí* archers, and matchlockmen—the whole number of whom, under the regulation requiring them to bring one-fifth of their respective tallies of fighting men into the field, would amount to 50,000 horsemen, and according to the rule enforcing a fourth, to 60,000—as well as 10,000 infantry, matchlock and rocket men, etc. It was ordered that subsidiary grants of money out of the State exchequer should be made to the nobles and *mansabdárs* holding *jágirs*, who were appointed to serve in this expedition, at the rate of 100 rupees for every individual horseman, which would be a *lac* for every hundred, that to those who drew pecuniary stipends in place of holding *jágirs*, three months' pay in advance should be disbursed; and in like manner also to the *ahadís* and matchlockmen, who numbered 5000 horse, should a similar advance be made; so that they might not suffer any privations during the campaign from want of funds to meet their current expenses

On the 18th of the month of Muharram, it being a fortunate moment, 'Allámí was dismissed along with the nobles who were present in His Majesty's fortunate train, and

farmáns were issued to those who were staying in the province of Kábul and other places, to join the royal forces at once. Various marks of favour and regard were manifested towards 'Allámí and his associates, on their taking leave, by the bestowal of *khil'ats*, jewelled daggers, and swords, horses, and elephants on them, according to their different grades of rank He also forwarded by the hands of 'Allámí for the gallant Prince—to whom an order had been issued previous to this, directing him to start instantly from Multán and overtake the royal forces at Bhimbhar—a handsome *khil'at*. * * * It was further commanded that the ever-victorious army should hasten to Kábul *viâ* Bangash-i bálá and Bangash-i páyín, as they were the shortest routes, and thence proceed by way of Ghazní towards Kandahár.

Loss of Kandahár.

On the 8th of Rabí'u-l awwal, when the victorious camp started from Jahángírábád, intelligence reached the Court that the servants of the crown had lost possession of the fortresses of Kandahár and Bust, and all the rest in that country, a detailed account of which events is here given When Sháh 'Abbás came from Tús to Hirát, he proceeded from thence to Faráh; where, having halted some days, he marched upon Kandahár, having, however, first despatched Mihráb Khán with some of his nobles, and an additional number of matchlockmen, etc, amounting altogether to about 8000 horsemen, to besiege the fortress of Bust, and Sáz Khán Baligh with five or six thousand composed of Kazalbáshís and the troops of Karkí and Naksarí,[1] to subdue Zamíndáwar On reaching that place, he fixed his head-quarters in the garden of Ganj Kulí Khán, whilst Daulat Khán, who had shut himself up in the fortress, having committed the interior of the stronghold to the charge of trusty persons, appointed a party of the royal matchlockmen and a portion of his own men to occupy the summit of

[1] [Variously written and doubtful]

the Kambúl Hill The defence of the towers he left to the care of Kákar Khán, to whom he also sent some of the matchlockmen, and the protection of the intrenchments below the Báshúrí and Khwája Khizr gates he entrusted to Núru-l Hasan, *bakhshi* of *ahadis*, with a body of the latter who were serving under him He also appointed some of the household troops, and a number of matchlockmen belonging to the Kandahár levies, to garrison the fortifications of Daulatábád and Mandaví, and having consigned the superintendence of them to Mírak Husain, *bakhshi* of Kandahár, came himself from the citadel to the former of these two forts, for the purpose of looking after the intrenchments. With a wanton disregard to the dictates of prudence, however, he did not attend to the defence of the towers, that Kalích Khán, in the days of his administration, had constructed expressly for such an occasion, on the top of the hill of Chihal-Zínah (forty steps), whence guns and matchlocks could be fired with effect into the forts of Daulatábád and Mandaví The Kazalbáshís, therefore, seeing those towers devoid of protection, despatched a number of matchlockmen to take post in them, and open a destructive fire They also laid out intrenchments in two different quarters. * * *

At length a number of the garrison, from want of spirit, lost the little courage they possessed, and Shádí Uzbek having entered into a conspiracy with the Kazalbáshís, seduced Kipchák Khán from his duty Though the latter was not naturally inclined at heart to this course of behaviour, yet as his companions had their families with them, through dread of losing their wealth, their lives, and their good repute, they would not let him follow the bent of his own disposition, so he was necessarily compelled to ally himself with those unfortunates Some of the Mughal *mansabdars*, *ahadis*, and matchlockmen too, having sprinkled the dust of treason on the heads of loyalty, entered into a league with them, and having come in front of the fort, declared that, in consequence of all the roads being closed, from the vast quantity of snow on the ground, there was no hope of

the early arrival of succour, and that it was evident from the untiring efforts of the Kazalbáshís, that they would very shortly capture the fort, and after its reduction by force and violence, neither would there be any chance of their own lives being spared, nor of their offspring being saved from captivity The wretched Daulat Khán, who ought instantly to have extinguished the flames of this sedition with the water of the sword, showed an utter want of spirit, by contenting himself with offering advice in reply. This, however, made no impression on the individuals in question, who got up, and departed to their respective homes, so that nought but a scanty force being left in the intrenchments, the Kazalbáshís entered the Sher-Hájí in several places As for the party that forced an entrance on the side of the Bábáwalí gate, some of the household troops and Daulat Khán's followers, who occupied that quarter, rushed upon them, whereupon several were killed on both sides.

Meanwhile, the traitor Shádí sent a message to the governor of the fort, who was stationed at the above gate, to say that Muhammad Beg Bákí had come, bearing a letter and message from the Sháh, and accompanied by Sharafu-d dín Husain, a *mansabdár* who was *dárogha* of the buildings and magazines in the fort of Bust Daulat Khán, on this, despatched Mírak Husain Bakhshí, for the purpose of sending away Muhammad Beg from the gate, but as soon as the *bakhshí* reached the gate of Veskaran, he noticed Kipchák Khán, Shádí, and a number of the Mughal *mansabdars*, sitting in the gateway, and perceived that they had brought Muhammad Beg inside, and seated him in front of them, and that he had brought four letters, one addressed to Daulat Khán, and the other three to Shádí, Núru-l Hasan and Mírak Husain, and was saying that he had besides some verbal messages to deliver. Mírak Husain therefore turned back, and related the circumstances to Daulat Khán, whereupon that worthless wretch deputed his *Lashkar-navís* (paymaster of the forces) to detain Muhammad Beg there, and send Kipchák Khán and Shádí to him. As soon as these ungrateful wretches

came, acting in conformity with their advice, he adopted the contemptible resolution of proceeding to an interview with Muhammad Beg, and receiving and keeping the letters he brought. The Sháh also sent a message to the effect, that he should take warning from what had already befallen Purdil Khán, the governor of the fort of Bust, and his comrades, and neither prolong hostilities any further, nor strive to shed the blood and sully the fair fame of himself and his comrades, and with a view to acquaint the inmates of the fort with the condition of the garrison of Bust, he despatched along with Muhammad Beg the aforesaid Sharafu-d dín Husain, whom Mihráb Khán had started off loaded with chains in advance of himself. To this Daulat Khán replied, that he would return an answer five days hence; and it having been stipulated that during this interval hostilities should not be engaged in on either side, Muhammad Beg received his dismissal, and returned to his own camp

On the 5th day 'Alí Kulí Khán, brother of Rustam Khán, the former commander-in-chief, having come to Shádí's intrenchment, and delivered a message, saying that the Sháh had commissioned him to ascertain their final decision, the pusillanimous Daulat Khán, with most of the servants of the crown, went to the gate, and invited him in The latter, after being introduced, stated, that as they had already offered as gallant and stubborn a resistance as it was possible to make, it was now proper that they should refrain from fighting, and, applying themselves to the preservation of their lives and property, should send an individual along with him to deliver their reply The worthless Daulat Khán accordingly despatched 'Abdu-l Latíf, *díwán* of Kandahár, for the purpose of procuring a safe conduct, in company with the above individual, and on the following day he returned with the written agreement.

The villain Shádí, however, without waiting for the governor's evacuating the fort, surrendered the Veskaran gate, which was in his charge, during the night to the Kazalbáshís, and hastened

along with Kipchák Khán to the Sháh's camp. However much the miserable Daulat Khán exhorted his men to repair to the fort on the top of the hill, it was of no avail, though had he but taken shelter there with a detachment, he could have held out till the arrival of succour without suffering any harm On the morrow, when the *mansabdárs, ahadís,* and matchlockmen, who were engaged in the defence of the gates of the new and old forts, marched out, after obtaining a safe conduct, with the exception of the citadel where the helpless Daulat Khán was left with Kákar Khán, the base Rájá Amar Singh, and some other *mansabdars,* as well as a party of his own adherents, every spot was in the possession of the Kazalbáshís

On the 9th of Safar, this year, 'Alí Kulí Khán came and said that any longer delay could not be permitted; whereupon the disloyal Daulat Khán delivered up a place of refuge of that description, and having marched out with his goods and comrades, encamped at a distance of a *kos* During the period of the siege, which extended over two months, nearly 2000 of the Kazalbásh army and 400 of the garrison were slain.

Summarily, on the third day after Daulat Khán's dastardly evacuation of the fort, 'Alí Kulí Khán, Ísa' Khán, and his brother Jamshíd Khán, came to him, and intimated that the Sháh had sent for him, as well as for some of his chief officers and associates The latter replied that it would be better for them to excuse him from this trouble, or, if they were resolved upon taking him there, to manage so that there should be no delay in his getting his dismissal, and to give him a dress of honour, both of which requests were guaranteed by 'Alí Kulí Khán. The ill-fated Daulat Khán accordingly proceeded with Kakar Khán and Núru-l Hasan, in company with the above-named nobles, to wait upon the Sháh, and having received his dismissal after a few moments, returned to his own camp, and on the 18th of the month of Safar set out with a world of shame and ignominy for Hindústán.

The Sháh, in consequence of the horses with his army having

mostly perished for want of forage, in addition to which a scarcity of grain was experienced, appointed Mihráb Khán, with about 10,000 Kazalbáshís and slaves, armed with matchlocks, to garrison Kandahár, and Dost 'Alí Uzbek with a detachment to guard the fortress of Bust, and returned himself to Khurásán on the 24th of this month. The account of the fortress of Bust is as follows. * *

Surrender of Bust

From the beginning of the siege, the flames of war and strife raged furiously for 54 days, and many were killed and wounded on both sides, insomuch that during this period close upon 600 of the Kazalbáshís, and nearly half that number of Purdil Khán's followers, met their death On the 14th Muharram, this year, the governor having begged for quarter, after entering into a strict agreement, had an interview with Mihráb Khán The latter, having broken his engagement, put to death out of the 600 men, who had stood by the governor to the last, several persons, who, being averse to the surrender, had protracted the struggle; and having made that individual himself a prisoner, together with the rest of his adherents, and his family and children, brought them all to the Sháh at Kandahár.

In Zamíndáwar the war was carried on as follows As soon as Sáz Khán Bálígh besieged the fort, Saiyid Asadu-lla, and Saiyid Bákar, sons of Saiyid Báyazíd Bukhárí, who were engaged in its defence, sent him a message, saying that the fort was a dependency of Kandahár, and without reducing the latter, its capture would be of no use; and it would therefore be better to suspend hostilities until the fate of Kandahár was ascertained, so that blood might not be shed fruitlessly. Sáz Khán, concurring in the reasonableness of this proposition, refrained from prosecuting siege operations, and having written to inform the Sháh of the fact, sat down to await intelligence A messenger from the Sháh at length brought to the Saiyids a letter, detailing the capture of the fortresses of Bust and Kandahár; whereupon they surrendered the fort

Advance of the Imperial Army to Kandahár

The exploits of the royal army were as follows The day that 'Allámí Sa'du-lla Khán crossed the Níláb with the royal forces, Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur having arrived from Multán, also effected his passage over that river, and the whole of the forces set out at once in His Royal Highness's train for Kohát. On reaching that place, he halted to await the receipt of intelligence regarding the snow, and presently a letter arrived from Khalíl Beg, who had been sent on in advance to level the road and construct bridges, to the effect that on the road through the hill-country along the Kohistán route the snow was lying so deep that even if no more fell the road would not probably be passable for at least a month. The ever-victorious Prince consequently relinquished his design of proceeding by that route, but started in the direction of Pesháwar, by way of the pass of Sendh-Basta, which is an extremely rugged and difficult road, and without entering that city, pursued his journey by the regular stages to Kábul. * * *

Sa'du-lla Khán having set out with his comrades at full speed, came and pitched camp during the night in the suburbs of Shahr Safá Having left Mubárak Khán Níází to guard that city, he marched thence, and in three days reached the neighbourhood of Kandahár, on the 12th of Jumáda-l awwal of this year, whence Kasádah Khwája, which is half a *kos* from the fortress, became the site of his camp As the 14th of the above-named month was the time fixed upon for commencing the siege, he halted next day to await the arrival of the victorious Prince, and the advent of the appointed time for the siege, but rode out in company with the commanders of the royal forces, and made a reconnoitring tour round the fortifications On the 14th the Prince came up from the rear, and having joined the army, fixed his head-quarters half a *kos* from the fortress * * *

TWENTY-THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1059 A.H. (1649 A.D.).

As it was represented that during the progress of the victorious forces towards Kandahár a great deal of the cultivation of Ghazní and its dependencies had been trodden under foot by the army, the merciful monarch, the cherisher of his people, despatched the sum of 2000 gold *mohurs*, in charge of a trusty individual, with directions to inquire into the loss sustained by the agriculturists, and distribute it amongst them accordingly

After the fortress of Kandahár had been besieged for three months and a half, so that grain and fodder were beginning to get scarce, notwithstanding the praiseworthy exertions of the faithful servants of the crown, owing to their having with them neither a siege train of battering guns, nor skilful artillerymen, the capture of the fortress seemed as distant as ever For these reasons, and as the winter also was close at hand, a *farmán* was issued to the illustrious Prince, to the effect that, as the reduction of the fortress without the aid of heavy guns was impracticable, and there was not now sufficient time remaining for them to arrive in, he should defer its capture till a more convenient opportunity, and start for Hindústán with the victorious troops The Prince Buland Ikbál Dárá Shukoh was also ordered to tarry some time at Kábul, and directly he heard the news of the Kandahár army's arrival at Ghazní, to set out for the presence. * *

As the winter was now close at hand, and forage had become unattainable, notwithstanding hearing of the death of Mihráb Khán, the *kiladár*, from a number of persons, who came out of the fortress, the Prince did not deem it expedient to delay any longer, but, in obedience to the mandate worthy of all attention, set out with the victorious forces from Kandahár on the 8th of the month of Ramazán this year for Hindústán. * *

Twenty-Fourth Year of the Reign, 1060 A.H. (1650 A.D.).

The Emperor excused the Fast

As his most gracious Majesty had this year advanced in joy and prosperity beyond the age of sixty, and the divine precepts sanctioning the non-observance of the fast came into force, the learned doctors and *muftis*, according to the glorious ordinances of the Kurán, by way of fulfilling the commandments of the law, decreed that it would be lawful for His Majesty, whose blessed person is the source of the administration of the world, to expend funds in charity in lieu of observing the fast The monarch, the lover of religion, and worshipper of the divine law, therefore, lavished 60,000 rupees on the deserving poor, and at his command, every night during the sacred month divers viands and all sorts of sweetmeats were laid out in the Chihal-sitún in front of the balcony of public audience, with which famishing and destitute people appeased their hunger It was further resolved that henceforward a similar plan should be pursued during every month of Ramazán.

Twenty-Fifth Year of the Reign, 1061 A H (1650-1 A D)

Subjugation of Tibet.

On the 23rd Jumáda-s sání, which was the time fixed for entering Kashmír, the Emperor alighted in safety at the royal apartments of the fort.

On the 4th of Rajab His Majesty paid a visit to the Mosque, which had been erected in the most exquisite style of art, for the asylum of learning, Mullá Sháh Badakhshání, at a cost of 40,000 rupees, the requisite funds having been provided by Nawáb 'Aliya, and was surrounded by buildings to serve as habitations for the poor, which were constructed at a further outlay of 20,000 rupees.

On the 12th of this month, Ádam Khán's *munshí* and his nephew Muhammad Murád, as well as the sons of Salím Beg Káshgharí, who ranked amongst the auxiliaries serving in the province of Kashmír, and had stood security for the two former individuals, were appointed to proceed to Tibet, with a number of *zamíndars*, to exterminate a rebel named Mírzá Ján, and subdue the fort of Shkardú, together with the territory of Tibet, which had escaped out of the possession of the servants of the crown

On the 27th of Sha'bán it reached the ear replete with all good, through Ádam Khán's representations, that the rebel Mírzá Ján had no sooner heard of the arrival of the royalists, than he evacuated the fort of Shkardú, and became a wanderer in the desert of adversity, whereupon the fort in question, together with the territory of Tibet, came anew into the possession of the servants of the crown The gracious monarch rewarded the aforesaid Khán with an addition to his *mansab*, and conferred the country of Tibet in *jágír* on the above-named Muhammad Murád, as his fixed abode

Towards the close of the spring, on account of the heavy rain and tremendous floods, all the verdant islands in the middle of the Dal, as well as the gardens along its borders, and those in the suburbs of the city, were shorn of their grace and loveliness. The waters of the Dal rose to such a height, that they even poured into the garden below the balcony of public audience, which became one sheet of water from the rush of the foaming tide, and most of its trees were swamped Just about this time, too, a violent hurricane of wind arose, which tore up many trees, principally poplars and planes, by the roots, in all the gardens, and hurled down from on high all the blooming foliage of Kashmír A longer sojourn in that region was consequently distasteful to the gracious mind; so, notwithstanding that the sky was lowering, he quitted Kashmír on the 1st of Ramazán, and set out for the capital by way of Sháhábád.

Progress to Kábul, and despatch of 'Allámi Sa'du-lla Khán with an immense army for the subjugation of Kandahár.

On the night of Monday, the 18th of Rabí'u-l awwal, being the moment that had been fixed for the auspicious departure to Kábul, the royal train moved from the capital of Lahore in that direction At the same chosen period, too, His Majesty despatched 'Allámí with the multitudinous forces (resembling the waves of the sea), amounting together with the army serving in Kábul to 50,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, including musketeers, gunners, bombardiers, and rocketmen, for the purpose of conquering the country and fortress of Kandahár, Bust and Zamíndáwar. He was further accompanied by ten large and ferocious war-elephants, eight heavy and twenty light guns, the latter of which carried two and two and a half *sir* (four and five lbs) shot, and during an engagement used to be advanced in front of the army, twenty elephants carrying *hathnáls*, and 100 camels with *shuturnals*, besides a well-replenished treasury, and other suitable equipments He was instructed to repair by way of Kábul and Ghazní to Kandahár, and about 3000 camels were employed in the transport of artillery stores, such as lead, powder and iron shot. * * *

TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1062 A H (1651-2 A D)

Arrival of Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur and Jamdatu-l Mulk Sa'du-lla Khan at Kandahar, and siege of the fortress.

On the 3rd of Jumáda-s sání, the first month this year, the victorious Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur, who had set out from Multán for Kandahár, reached his destination 'Allámí, who had hastened thither by way of K bul, having joined His Royal Highness on the above date, delivered the kind and indulgent *fárman* As it had been determined that the siege of the fortress should be commenced simultaneously with the

arrival at Kandahár, the fortunate Prince, having finished marking out the positions that the royal forces were to occupy, invested the stronghold that very day. * * *

In short, for two months and eight days the flames of war burned fiercely, and on both sides numerous casualties occurred. On one occasion, when Muhammad Beg *Topchi-báshi* (Commandant of the Artillery), and five or six others of the garrison, had been destroyed by a shot from the gun named *Fath Lashkar*, the Kazalbáshís sallied out of the fort and poured down upon the trenches, whereupon a desperate struggle ensued between the adverse hosts. Another time they fell on 'Allámí's trenches, but a party of his retainers firmly held their ground, and after putting a few of their antagonists to the sword, and wounding some others, manfully laid down their lives, and on the arrival of succour, the enemy retired precipitately within the fortifications.

To be brief, the royalists used the most strenuous exertions, and laboured with unremitting zeal and assiduity in carrying forward the parallels and zigzags of attack, and demolishing the crest of the parapet and the bastions Nevertheless, as the fortress possessed immense strength, and was filled with all the military weapons and stores required for an effective defence, their utmost efforts produced no impression, and, owing to the storm of shot and shell that poured on them like a shower of rain from the fort, they were unable to advance their trenches beyond the spot they had already brought them to. In the interim, out of the seven guns which had accompanied the royal army, and were the most effectual implements of attack, two that were mounted in the Prince's trenches had cracked from constant firing, and had become quite unserviceable. As for the other five, which were in the trenches conducted by 'Allámí and Kásim Khán *Mír-i atish*, although they continued to be discharged, yet as they were not served by scientific artillerymen, their fire was not so effective as could be wished

As soon as these particulars became known to His Majesty's

world-adorning understanding, and he was informed that the capture of the fortress was at that period impracticable, and it also reached the royal ear that the Uzbeks and Almáns had come into the neighbourhood of Ghazní, and excited tumults, as already described, a *farmán* was issued to the illustrious Prince on the 4th of Sha'bán, to withdraw his forces from around the fortress, and, deferring its capture till some other period, to take his siege train along with him and set out for Court. * *

Departure of the Prince Buland Ikbál Dárá Shukoh from Lahore to Kandahár, and organization of forces with artillery, etc

As the Prince Buland Ikbál, after the return of the army from Kandahár, had guaranteed to conquer that territory, and with this view the provinces of Kábul and Multán had been bestowed upon him, His Royal Highness, on reaching the capital, applied himself to the task of making the requisite arrangements for the campaign In the course of three months and some days that he remained at Lahore, he used such profuse exertions, that what could not have been otherwise accomplished in a year was effected in this short period. Among the siege train was a gun called *Kishwar-kushá* (clime-conquering), and another *Garh-bhanjan* (fort-shattering), each of which carried an iron shot one *man* and eight *sirs* in weight (96 lbs); and they were worked by the gunners under the direction of Kásim Khán

There was also another large piece of ordnance that carried a shot of a *man* and sixteen *sirs* (1 cwt), and was plied under the management of His Royal Highness's *Mír-i átish*, as well as 30,000 cannon-balls, small and great He also got ready 5000 *mans* of gunpowder, and 2500 of lead, measuring by Imperial weight, and 14,000 rockets. Having likewise collected as many grain dealers as were procurable, he made arrangements for the army commissariat, and the safe arrival of supplies. He then despatched a letter to Court, representing that as the moment of starting was fixed for the 23rd of Rabí'u-l awwal, and the pre-

liminary arrangements for the campaign had been completed, if the royal forces appointed to this enterprise received their dismissal, he would set out for Kandahár. A mandate in the auspicious handwriting was therefore issued, directing His Royal Highness to start off at the predetermined moment by way of Multán, on which road provisions and forage were abundant [*Long details of the siege*]

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1063 A.H (1652-3 A D)

Reduction of the Fortress of Bust

Among the stirring incidents that occurred during the siege of Kandahár was the subjugation of the fortress of Bust by the laudable exertions of the servants of the crown, a concise account of which is as follows. * *

Siege of Kandahár raised

Ultimately the duration of the siege extended beyond five months, the winter began to set in, all the lead, powder, and cannon-balls were expended, and neither was there any forage left in the meadows, nor provisions with the army. A *farmán* likewise was issued to this effect, that as the winter was close at hand, and they had already been long detained in Kandahár, if the reduction of the fortress could not be effected just at once, they might stay if necessary some short time longer, or otherwise return immediately Rustam Khán, who had been recalled from Bust for the purpose of sharing in the assault, having dismantled that fortress, distributed the provisions among his men, and reached Kandahár with his comrades, bringing all the artillery stores, and property in the *Kár-khana*, that was there, along with him. With an eye therefore to the safety of the property mentioned above, he deemed it expedient to return, and not one of the royalist commanders proposed staying any longer The Prince Buland Ikbál consequently, on the 15th Zí-l ka'da this year, set out from Kandahár for Hindústán

TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1064 A.H. (1653-4 A D).

Appointment of 'Allámí to the task of demolishing the Fort of Chitor, and chastising the Ráná

On the 22nd Zí-l ka'da, at a chosen moment, the royal departure from the metropolis of Sháhjahánábád to the blessed city of Ajmír took place On the same date, the Emperor despatched 'Allámí, with a large number of nobles and *mansabdárs* and 1500 musketeers, amounting altogether to 30,000, for the purpose of hurrying on in that direction, and demolishing the fort of Chitor, which was one of the gifts (*'atáyá*) that had been made by this Imperial dynasty. From the time of the late Emperor Jahángír, it had been settled that no one of the Ráná's posterity should ever fortify it, but Ráná Jagat Singh, the father of Rájá Jai Singh, having set about repairing it, had pulled down every part that was damaged, and built it up very strongly anew He also directed him, if perchance the Ráná did not tender his obedience, to overrun his territory with the royal forces, and [1]inflict suitable chastisement on him The triumphant standards then moved on by the regular marches in the rear of the ever-victorious troops On the 2nd of Zí-l hijja, when the world-subduing banners were planted at Khalílpúr, the Ráná's confidential *vakíls* waited on the Prince Buland Ikbál, and begged His Royal Highness to act as their intercessor When, by his mediation, the penitence and humility expressed by the Ráná was reported at the threshold of might and majesty, an order was issued that His Royal Highness should send his *Mír-i buyutat* to wait upon the Ráná, and deliver the following message, viz. that if, with judicious forethought, he would despatch his eldest son, the *Sáhib-i-tika*, to the presence, and a detachment of his people under the command of one of his relatives were stationed in the Dakhin, the same as formerly, to be employed in the royal service, he should be left in security, or otherwise he should be overwhelmed in adversity.

As the Ráná had again in these days humbly forwarded an address to the Prince Buland Ikbál, requesting him to send his *diwán*, in order that he might start off his sons to Court in company with that individual, His Royal Highness obtained permission from the Imperial threshold, and despatched Shaikh 'Abdu-l Karím, his own *diwán*, to the Ráná * *

The exploits of the army that accompanied 'Allámí were as follows. On his arriving within twelve *kos* of Chitor, which is the frontier of the Ráná's territory, inasmuch as the latter's negociations had not yet been satisfactorily terminated, he commenced plundering and devastating, and depasturing his cattle on the crops. On the 5th of Zí-l hijja, this year, having reached the environs of Chitor, he directed working parties with pickaxes and spades to overthrow that powerful stronghold Accordingly, in the course of fourteen or fifteen days, they laid its towers and battlements in ruins, and having dug up and subverted both the old and the new walls, levelled the whole to the ground The Ráná having awoke from his sleep of heedlessness at the advent of the prosperous banners at Ájmír, the irresistible force of the royal arms, the dispersion of the peasantry, and the ruin of his territory, sent off a letter containing the humblest apologies to Court, along with his eldest son, who was in his sixth year, and a number of his principal retainers, in company with Shaikh 'Abdu-l Karím, the Prince Buland Ikbál's *Mír-i buyutát* A *farmán* was then issued to Jamdatu-l Mulk ('Allámí), that since the fort had been demolished, and the Ráná had sent off his son to Court, the pen of forgiveness had been drawn through the register of his delinquencies at the Prince Buland Ikbál's solicitation, and that he should set out himself with the whole of the victorious army to the royal presence.

Marks of distinction bestowed on Prince Dárá Shukoh

On the 8th of Rabí'u-s sání this year, being the expiration of the sixty-fifth lunar year of His Majesty's age, a festival was

celebrated with exceeding splendour, and was attended with the usual ceremonies. In this sublime assembly the Emperor kindly conferred on the Prince Buland Ikbál a handsome *khil'at* with a gold-embroidered vest, studded with valuable diamonds round the collar, on both sleeves, and the skirts, pearls had been sewn, and it was worth 50,000 rupees, also a *sarband* composed of a single ruby of the purest water, and two magnificent pearls, of the value of a *lac* and 70,000 rupees, and a donation of thirty *lacs* besides He also distinguished His Royal Highness by the lofty title of Sháh Buland Ikbál, which had been applied exclusively to himself during his late Majesty's reign; and since in the days of his Princehood a chair had been placed at that Emperor's suggestion opposite to the throne for him to sit on, he now in like manner directed His Royal Highness to seat himself on a golden chair, that had been placed near the sublime throne.

Twenty-Ninth Year of the Reign, 1065 A H (1654-5 A D)

Campaign in Sirmor

Among the incidents of the past year, the appointment and despatch of Khalílu-lla Khán during the return from Ájmír, with 8000 men, for the purpose of coercing the Zamíndár of Srínagar, and capturing the Dún, have been already detailed by the historic pen. The particulars of his advance and return are as follows. When the Khán in question set out with the royal forces, the Zamíndár of Sirmor, who had never felt disposed to ally himself with the servants of the crown, came under the guidance of good fortune and joined them. He was then rendered conspicuous among his compeers by the promulgation of an edict from the threshold of empire and sovereignty, investing him with the title of Rájá Sabhák Prakás.

Sirmor is a mountainous tract to the north of the new metropolis, measuring thirty *kos* in length, and twenty-five in breadth,

in which ice-houses had been established for His Majesty's private use, whence, from the beginning of the month of Isfandiár (February) till the end of Mihr (September), an abundant supply of ice was constantly reaching the metropolis during the time that the royal standards were planted there. From these emporia porters used to carry loads of snow and ice on their backs as far as Dhamrás, the name of a place situated on the bank of the river Jumna at a distance of sixteen *kos*, but the road to which is extremely difficult. There it was packed in boxes, and sent down the stream on rafts to Daryápúr, one of the dependencies of *pargana* Khizrábád, which is also sixteen *kos* off from Dhamrás From that point it was transported to the metropolis on board of boats in the course of three days and nights

Khalílu-lla Khán, in company with the aforesaid Rájá and some other *zamíndárs* of those parts, having reached the Dún, which is a strip of country lying outside of Srínagar, twenty *kos* long and five broad, one extremity of its length being bounded by the river Jumna, and the other by the Ganges, which possesses many flourishing towns in various quarters, laid the foundation of a fieldwork close to Kilághar, and completed it in the course of a week. He then deputed one of the *mansabdárs* to keep guard there with 200 matchlockmen, and set out in advance with the whole of his comrades On reaching Bahádur Khánpúr, which is a place belonging to the Dún, and lies between the rivers Jumna and Ganges, in consequence of the peasantry that dwelt in that neighbourhood having taken refuge in the hills and forests and defiles, and obstinately refusing to return, he despatched the ever-triumphant troops from every side to coerce them, who succeeded in inflicting suitable chastisement. A number of the rebels therefore fell by the sword of vengeance, and many more were taken prisoners, after which the remainder tendered their allegiance, and innumerable herds of cattle fell into the hands of the soldiery Here, likewise, he threw up a fortified post, and left a confidential person with some

mansabdárs, and 500 infantry and matchlockmen, to garrison it, so that the passage of travellers to and fro might remain uninterrupted. Having then set out himself from thence, he approached the town of Basantpúr, which is also a dependency of the Dún, and halted half-way up the hill. Opposite the above town, he constructed another redoubt, in which he posted one of the *mansabdárs* with 250 infantry matchlockmen. From thence he moved to Sahijpúr, a place abounding in streams and fountains, and clothed with flowers and verdure, where he erected a fort on the top of an embankment, measuring 1,000 yards in circumference, and fifteen in height, that had in former times been crowned by a stronghold, inasmuch as some traces of the ancient works were still visible, and he deputed a trusty individual to hold the post, backed by 250 musketeers On reaching the banks of the Ganges, after crossing which one enters the hill-country, he sent a detachment with the royal artillery to the other side of the stream, with a view to their taking possession of the *thana* of Chándí, which is one of the dependencies of Srínagar, but lies outside the Dún of Kílághai.

Meanwhile, Bahádur Chand, Zamíndár of Kumáyún (Kumaon), under the guidance of a fortunate destiny, espoused the royal cause, and came and joined the above-mentioned Khán As soon as this fact was conveyed to the Imperial ear, the repository of all good, through the representations of Khalílu-lla Khán, a conciliatory *farman* and a *khil'at* set with jewels were forwarded to him As the season for prosecuting military operations in that region and the fitting period for an invasion of the hill-country had passed away, the rains being now at hand, and the Dún having been taken possession of, a mandate was issued to Khalílu-lla Khán, to defer the campaign in the hills for the present, and after delivering up the Dún to Chatur Bhúj, who had expressed an ardent desire for it, and confiding the *thána* of Chándí to Nágar Dás, the chief of Hardwár, to set out for Court The Khán accordingly, having set his mind at rest by fulfilling these instructions, started for the presence.

Mír Jumla seeks protection.

Another incident was the flying for refuge of Mír Muhammad Sa'íd Ardastání, surnamed Mír Jumla,[1] to the Court, the asylum of mankind, an account of which event is as follows. The above individual, in whose hands was the entire administration of Kutbu-l Mulk's kingdom, had, after a severe struggle with the Karnátikís, brought under subjection, in addition to a powerful fort, a tract of country measuring 150 *kos* in length, and twenty or thirty in breadth, and yielding a revenue of forty *lacs* of rupees It also contained mines teeming with diamonds, and no one of Kutbu-l Mulk's ancestors had ever been able to gain possession of any portion of it Having destroyed several strong forts built by the Karnátikís, he had brought this country into his power, and in spite of long-standing usages, he had collected a considerable force, so that he had 5000 horse in his service. For these reasons, a faction who were at enmity with him caused Kutbu-l Mulk to be displeased with him, and strove to effect his ruin. He had been active in performing such meritorious services, and after contending against the *zamíndars* of the Karnátik, had subdued so fine a territory, but he did not gain the object he sought, but, on the contrary, reaped disappointment So, using Prince Mahammad Aurangzeb Bahádur as an intercessor, he sought refuge at the Court, the asylum of the world. After this circumstance had been disclosed to the world-adorning understanding through the representations of the illustrious Prince, a handsome *khil'at* was forwarded to him by the hand of one of the courtiers in the middle of this month, together with an indulgent *farmán* sanctioning the bestowal of a *mansab* of 5000 on him, and one of 2000 on his son, Mír Muhammad Amín, as well as a mandate accompanied by a superb dress of honour for Kutbu-l Mulk, regarding the not prohibiting him and his relations from coming.

[1] [Afterwards entitled Mu'azzam Khán]

Account of Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb's March to Golkonda[1]

Among the important events that took place towards the close of this year was the march of the ever-successful Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur to the territory of Golkonda, for the sake of coercing Kutbu-l Mulk, his exaction of a superb tributary offering on behalf of His Majesty's private exchequer, and his uniting in marriage of the latter's daughter with his own eldest son, Muhammad Sultán, an abridged narrative of which is as follows When Mír Jumla sought to ally himself to the Imperial throne, Kutbu-l Mulk, the instant he gained intelligence of the matter, imprisoned Mír Jumla's son, Mír Muhammad Amín, together with his connexions, and having confiscated whatever he possessed, both in live stock and goods, forwarded him and his relatives to Golkonda This circumstance having soon reached the ear of the fortunate Prince, through the intervention of news-writers, His Royal Highness despatched a quiet letter to Kutbu-l Mulk regarding the release of the prisoners, and the restoration of Mír Muhammad Amín's goods and chattels Having likewise reported the state of the case to the Imperial presence, he solicited authority, that in case Kutbu-l Mulk persisted in keeping Mír Jumla's son in confinement, he might be permitted to march against him in person, and endeavour to liberate the captives; as supineness in resorting to arms would be a source of additional lethargy to the opulent lords of the Dakhin. On the receipt of his report, a *farmán* was likewise forwarded with the utmost expedition to Kutbu-l Mulk, by the hands of some mace-bearers, respecting the surrender of Mír Jumla's son along with his relatives, and the infliction of the consequences of disobedience. A mandate was also addressed to the victorious Prince, instructing him to set out for his destination with the triumphant troops, and the ever-obeyed commands were issued to the governor of Málwa, and the *mansabdárs* serving in

[1] [Both Muhammad Wáris and Muhammad Sálih agree in placing these affairs of Golkonda in the thirtieth year of the reign]

that province, to proceed and join His Royal Highness as quickly as possible.

In short, as Kutbu-l Mulk, under the influence of the fumes of arrogance, would not heed the contents of the letter, the Prince despatched his eldest son, Muhammad Sultán, thither on the 8th of Rabí'u-l awwal this year, along with a host of nobles and *mansabdárs* and his own followers. It was further determined that the army that was returning from Deogarh should halt in that vicinity, and unite itself to the illustrious Sultán, and that he himself should set out afterwards in the course of another month About this time, the *mansabdárs* in whose charge the *khil'ats* and *farmáns* had been despatched for Kutbu-l Mulk and Mír Jumla from the brilliant presence, as has been related in its proper place, came and waited on that ward of the divine vigilance Although it was the realm-subduing Prince's opinion that Kutbu-l Mulk would release Mír Jumla's son from confinement previous to the arrival of Muhammad Sultán, "the tender sapling in the garden of prosperity and success," at the frontier of the Golkonda territory, and that the campaign would not consequently be prolonged to any great extent, yet Kutbu-l Mulk, from excessive negligence and extreme pride, had not the good sense to adopt this measure, and hold the *farmán* in dread and fear After the last communication the Prince gave orders,[1] directing Muhammad Sultán to enter his territory with the Imperial troops On receiving the above *farmán* with the alarming intelligence of Muhammad Sultán's approach at the head of the royal forces, Kutbu-l Mulk awoke from his deep sleep of arrogance and conceit, and sent off Mír Jumla's son, along with his mother and connexions. He also forwarded a letter to Court, intimating this fact, and avowing his fealty and subservience, in charge of the mace-bearers who had brought the *farmán*. Mír Jumla's son having joined Muhammad Sultán twelve *kos* from Haidarábád, reposed in the cradle of peace and safety Nevertheless as Kutbu-l Mulk, with grasping avarice, still

[1] [The text here is vague and of doubtful meaning]

retained the goods and property belonging to Mír Jumla and his son, and would not deliver them up, the illustrious Sultán set out for the city of Haidarábád Kutbu-l Mulk, on learning this news, started off his children to Golkonda, which is situated at a distance of three *kos* from Haidarábád, and where, owing to the impregnability of the position, he was in the habit of depositing his secret hoards of treasure; and he followed them shortly after himself Whatever gems and jewelry, gold and silver articles, and cash he possessed, he likewise removed to the fort of Golkonda, and other property, such as various kinds of carpets, porcelain, etc, he made over to the chief of his confidential servants, and deputed him to contend with the royal forces

Next morning, corresponding to the 5th of Rabí'u-s sání this year, when Muhammad Sultán, having arrived at the environs of Haidarábád, was just about to encamp on the banks of the Husain Sájar lake, one of Kutbu-l Mulk's confidential retainers came and waited on him with a casket full of jewels that his master had forwarded by his hands. Meanwhile, Kutbu-l Mulk's forces made their appearance, and assumed a menacing attitude, but the ever-triumphant troops, having engaged in the deadly strife from right and left, enveloped the enemy with speed and promptitude in the midst of a galling fire, and by the aid of His Majesty's daily-increasing good fortune, having gained the superiority, chased the routed fugitives up to the city walls Many of the enemy were accordingly killed and wounded, and the survivors, from dread of the royalists' assaults, did not stay within the city walls, but fled into the fort In short, as such an audacious act had been perpetrated by Kutbu-l Mulk, and the bearer of the casket of jewels was indicated as the originator of this hostile movement, Muhammad Sultán gave the order for his execution.

Arrival of Muhammad Sultán at Golkonda, and Subjugation of Haidarábád

On the morrow, Muhammad Sultán took possession of the city of Haidarábád, and having encamped outside the walls,

prohibited the soldiery from entering it, for fear of having Kutbu-l Mulk's property plundered, and the effects of the inhabitants carried off. He also despatched a confidential servant of his noble father to conciliate the residents of that city, so as to dissuade them from dispersing, and to endeavour to protect their wealth and property. This day Kutbu-l Mulk sent 200 more caskets full of gems and jewelled trinkets, two elephants with silver housings, and four horses with gold trappings, to the Sultán, and that fruitful plant of the gardens of prosperity and good fortune detained the bearer of these articles in his camp, as a hostage for the restoration of Mír Jumla's goods, which Kutbu-l Mulk still persisted in withholding. Five or six days afterwards, he sent eleven elephants, sixty horses, and other things belonging to Mír Jumla, and though, apparently having entered into amicable relations, he used to send numbers of people to Muhammad Sultán, and make professions of loyal obedience, yet he continued strengthening his fortifications, using tremendous exertions to complete the requisite preparations for standing a siege, and forwarded repeated letters to 'Ádil Khán by the hands of trusty individuals soliciting aid

Arrival of the fortunate Prince at Golkonda

The particulars regarding the ever-triumphant Prince's retinue are as follows His Royal Highness having reached Golkonda from Aurangábád in eighteen days, pitched his camp on the 20th of the aforesaid Rabí'u-s sání a *kos* from the fort. He then went off the road for the purpose of marking out the intrenchments, and reconnoitring the defences of the place, and having gained intelligence of Kutbu-l Mulk's approach, commanded Muhammad Sultán to take post on the left-hand side with his force At this juncture, five or six thousand cavalry and ten or twelve thousand infantry came opposite to the army, and kindled the flame of war by discharging rockets and matchlocks, whilst the garrison likewise fired off numerous cannons and rockets from the top of the

ramparts. The lion-hearted Prince, however, with his habitual intrepidity, allowed no apprehensions to enter his mind, but urged on his riding elephant to the front, and the heroes of the arena of strife, having charged at full gallop in successive squadrons, and sapped the foundations of their foolish opponents' stability by their irresistible assaults, victory declared in favour of the servants of the crown. The ever-triumphant Prince, after returning to camp, crowned with glory and success, despatched the royalists to besiege the fort, and the prosecution of the attack against each front was committed to the vigilant superintendence of some trusty individual

In short, the friends of Government began constructing intrenchments, and carrying forward the approaches, and as Kutbu-l Mulk, from weakness of intellect, had been guilty of such highly improper behaviour, notwithstanding that he had again sent four more caskets of gems, three elephants with silver housings, and five horses with gold and silver trappings, in charge of an intimate friend, begging that he might be allowed to send his mother to wait upon His Royal Highness, for the purpose of asking pardon for his offences, the Prince, in token of his deep displeasure, would not listen to his request, nor grant his messenger an audience, but exhorted the besiegers to lavish still greater exertions in carrying on the attack with gallantry and vigour. After two or three days had elapsed in this manner, a vast force of the Kutbu-l Mulkís made their appearance on the northern side of the fort, and were about to pour down upon the intrenchment of Mirzá Khán, who was engaged in the defence of that quarter, when the latter, becoming aware of their hostile intention, made an application for reinforcements. The renowned and successful Prince immediately despatched some nobles with his own artillery to his support, and these reinforcements having arrived at full speed, took part at once in the affray Under the magic influence of His Majesty's never-failing good fortune, the enemy took to flight; whereupon the ever-triumphant troops began putting the miscreants to the

sword, and allowed hardly any of them to escape death or captivity After chasing the vain wretches as far as the fort, they brought the prisoners, along with an elephant that had fallen into their hands, into His Royal Highness's presence.

On this date a trusty person was deputed to go and fetch Mír Júmla; and as it reached the Prince's auspicious ear that about six or seven thousand cavalry and nearly 20,000 infantry of Kutbu-l Mulk, consisting principally of matchlockmen, who had been repeatedly defeated and dispersed in the battles mentioned above, had collected together on the southern face of the fort, and were standing prepared for action, the illustrious Prince mounted and set out in person to exterminate the doomed wretches As soon as he drew near, the miscreants had the foolhardiness to advance, and standing on the brink of a ravine that ran between them, fanned the flame of strife into a blaze by the discharge of matchlocks and rockets, whilst from the battlements of the fort also, cannons, guns, and rockets beyond number, played upon him incessantly The devoted heroes, however, drawing the shield of divine Providence over their heads, pushed rapidly across the ravine, and a detachment of their vanguard, by the most spirited efforts, drove the villains two or three times to the foot of the ramparts, hurling many of them into the dust of destruction, and capturing a number more Several of the servants of the Crown perished in this conflict, and others were adorned with the cosmetic of wounds, whilst a number of the Prince's retainers also were either killed or wounded His Royal Highness, deeming an additional force necessary for this quarter, stationed one there, and having taken possession of the commanding points, and appointed a party of matchlockmen to guard them, returned at night from the field of battle to his own tents.

Next day, at Muhammad Sultán's solicitation, he gave Kutbu-l Mulk's son-in-law permission to pay his respects, who had come two days before with some petitions and a slight tributary offering, but had not gained admittance Having refused the jewelry that the latter had brought for him, he

deferred its acceptance till the conclusion of negociations. About this time Sháyista Khán joined the army with the nobles of Málwá, whereupon the Prince altered the previous position of the trenches, and directed that they should throw up four, opposite each front of the fortifications In these very days, too, an Imperial edict arrived, intimating the despatch of a handsome *khil'at*, and a jewelled dagger with *phúl-katár*, for the illustrious Prince, and a present of a fine dress of honour, and a *mansab* of 7000, with 2000 horse, for Muhammad Sultán, as well as a benevolent *farmán* to Kutbu-l Mulk's address, granting him a free pardon By the untiring efforts of the servants of the Crown, however, affairs had come to such a pass, that Kutbu-l Mulk was all but annihilated, and every day a number of his followers used to turn the countenance of hope towards this prosperous threshold, and attain the honour of paying their respects. Alarmed at the irresistible superiority of the royal troops, moreover, he had sent two of his confidential servants with a tributary offering, and tendered his allegiance, consenting to pay all the stipulated tribute, due for several years up to Isfandiár of the 29th year of this reign, and begging that the amount of that for the present twelvemonth might be settled in addition to the former The subject of his daughter's marriage with Muhammad Sultán had likewise been broached, and the illustrious Prince, consequently, deeming it inexpedient to forward him the warrant of pardon just now, kept it to himself After a lapse of two or three days, Kutbu-l Mulk despatched, agreeably to orders, ten elephants and some jewelry, as an instalment of the tribute in arrears, together with two more elephants and other articles belonging to Mír Jumla's son. For the noble Muhammad Sultán, too, he sent a letter congratulating him on his *mansab*, two elephants, one of which bore silver housings, and a horse with gold saddle and jewelled trappings. The Prince then directed that they should mount two heavy guns that had been brought from fort U'sa, on the top of a mound situated in Kátalabí Khán's intrenchment, and point them against the fortress

As Kutbu-l Mulk had repeatedly begged permission to send his mother for the purpose of asking pardon for his offences, and solicited a safe conduct, it was ordered that Muhammad Sultán and Sháyista Khán should despatch the customary passport As soon as he received that warrant and security, he sent off his mother in the hope of gaining his other objects Accordingly, on the 22nd of Jumáda-l awwal, several of His Royal Highness's intimate companions went out, at his suggestion, to meet her, and brought her from the road to Sháyista Khán's camp The latter, having treated her with the deepest respect and attention, conducted her next day, agreeably to orders, into the illustrious presence, where she enjoyed an interview with Muhammad Sultán, and presented two horses * * As Muhammad Sultán represented that she was anxious to be admitted to a personal audience, in order to detail her propositions, the Prince summoned her into his presence That chaste matron then presented a thousand gold *mohurs* as *nisár* to His Royal Highness as well as * * *

That ward of divine providence affirmed in reply, that Kutbu-l Mulk must pay down a *kror* of rupees in cash, jewelry, elephants, etc., and she having consented to obey this mandate, returned to the fortress for the purpose of collecting the above sum

As a vast number of Kutbu-l Mulk's partisans, under the command of his *kotwál*, who had no intimation as yet of the armistice, had collected together about two *kos* from the fortress with hostile intentions, the Prince despatched several nobles and *mansabdárs*, with 200 mounted musketeers, and 500 cavalry out of Sháyista Khán's retainers, amounting altogether to 6,000 horse, and a host of matchlockmen, to coerce them The royal troops repaired with the utmost celerity to the menaced point, and encamped that day close to the enemy's position On the succeeding one, the miscreants sent off their heavy baggage and property to a distance, and having formed up in line themselves, stood prepared for action Although the royalists several times drove them off and dispersed them, yet the shameless wretches kept constantly

rallying and renewing their assaults, in which they suffered numerous casualties, until night supervened, when the ill-fated villains, being incapable of further resistance, took to a precipitate flight. A few out of the victorious army were also killed and wounded; and the ever-successful troops, after spending the night on the ground where the enemy's tents had stood, returned in triumph on the morrow

Mír Jumla's coming to wait upon the Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur.

At this time, the news of Mír Jumla's arrival in the vicinity of Golkonda was made known; so the Prince forwarded to him the *farmán* and *khil'at* that had come for him from Court, by the hands of the bearer of it. The latter having been apprised of the fact, came out to meet the messenger, from his camp, which was pitched four *kos* the other side of the Husain Ságar lake, and after observing the usual marks of respect, received the *farmán* and *khil'at* from him on the banks of the above-named lake As two days were wanting to the time fixed for his introduction to the victorious Prince, he returned for the present to his own camp On the appointed day, the Prince sent out some nobles to fetch him, and he having set out with great pomp and splendour, enjoyed at a chosen moment the honour of paying his respects, and presented 3,000 *Ibráhimís* as *nisár* That descendant of nobles was recompensed from the munificent threshold by the receipt of a superb dress of honour, a jewelled *tarrah* and dagger, two horses, one with a gold, the other with a silver saddle, and an elephant with silver housings, accompanied by a female one, and obtained permission to be seated in the presence. As peace had now been established on a firm basis, the fortunate and successful Prince evacuated the trenches encircling the fortress, on the last day of the aforesaid month, and summoned the party engaged in the siege to his presence.

THIRTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1066 A.H. (1655-6 A.D.)

Painful Death of Sa'du-lla Khán.

On the 22nd Jumáda-s sání 'Allámí Sa'du-lla Khán, conformably to the sacred text, "When your time of death has arrived, see that ye defer not a moment, nor procrastinate," returned the response of *Labaika* to the herald of God, and migrated from this transitory sphere to the realms of immortality. For nearly four months he had been labouring under a severe and painful attack of cholic, during the first two months of which period, when he was not confined to his bed, he used to attend daily in the auspicious presence, and uttered no exclamation of pain. In fact, he was then trying to dispel the disease by attending to Takarrub Khán's medical treatment, but after he became confined to his house from the acute agony he was suffering, the matter was disclosed to the royal ear, whereupon the skilful physicians in attendance at the foot of the sublime throne were commanded to effect his cure. As his appointed time of death, however, had come, all their remedies produced no effect, and the disease gradually gaining ground, put an end to his sufferings. The monarch, the appreciator of worth, expressed intense regret at the demise of that deserving object of kindness and consideration, and showered favours on his children and all his connexions.

Marriage of Muhammad Sultán with Kutbu-l Mulk's daughter.

The sequel to the narrative of Golkonda affairs is as follows. As the moment for the celebration of Muhammad Sultán's nuptials had been fixed for the morning of the 18th of Jumáda-s sání in this happy-omened year, Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur sent his *diwán*, Muhammad Táhir, one day previously to Kutbu-l Mulk, together with the ecclesiastics, and

forwarded a *khil'at.* * * Next day, the marriage service was read in a fortunate moment, and the hymeneal rites were duly observed After a week's interval, the illustrious Prince again despatched his own *díwán* and the royal *bakhshí* into the fortress, with a view of fetching that chaste and fortunate damsel, and commanded several nobles to wait outside the fortifications, and accompany her from thence These obedient vassals accordingly acted in conformity with his injunctions, and conducted her along with Kutbu-l Mulk's mother, who had accompanied her, to a pavilion that had been erected near His Royal Highness's Kutbu-l Mulk sent about ten *lacs* of rupees in gems and other articles by way of dowry Next day the Prince forwarded the *farmán* and a superb *khil'at*, the delivery of which he had deferred, as has been alluded to in its proper place, to Kutbu-l Mulk, who went out to meet them, and received them with the deepest reverence

[*Return of Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb from Golkonda, investiture of Mír Jumla with the title of Mu'azzam Khán, and bestowal of that of Khán-Jahán on Sháyista Khan.*]

Appointment of Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb to conduct the campaign of Bíjápúr, and dismissal of Mu'azzam Khán [Mír Jumla], etc, from the presence

Among the events of this year was the appointment of the victorious Prince Aurangzeb Bahádur to conduct the campaign of Bíjápúr, and the dismissal of Mu'azzam Khán and the other nobles and *mansabdars* from the sublime presence to share in the above campaign, a concise version of which is as follows As it had been reported at the threshold of royalty, through the representations of the above-named Prince, that 'Ádil Khán had bid adieu to existence by a natural death, and his servants had constituted Majhúl Illáhí his successor, who professed to be his offspring, it was ordered, on the 18th of Safar,

that His Royal Highness should hasten thither with the Dakhin forces, and bring the campaign to a conclusion, in such a way as he should deem expedient. An ever-obeyed mandate was also issued to Khán-Jahán, to repair expeditiously to Daulatábád, and remain in that city until the ever-successful Prince's return. Jamdatu-l Mulk Mu'azzam Khán, Sháh Nawáz Khán Safví, Mahábat Khán, Nijábat Khán, Rájá Ráí Singh, and a number more nobles and *mansabdárs*, whose total strength amounted to 20,000 horse, were appointed to serve under that ward of divine providence, some being despatched from the auspicious presence, and others from their respective homes and *jagírs*, along with a great many musketeers both horse and foot, and rocketmen. Among those who received their dismissal from the presence, Jamdatu-l Mulk was presented with a handsome *khil'at*, etc * *

As Mu'azzam Khán had reported that he had sent several led horses, adorned with diamonds, rubies, and precious stones, and some other articles, that he had taken from the *Zamíndár* of the Karnátik, to 'Ádil Khán, the Sháh Buland Ikbál despatched by the hands of two confidential slaves a mandate, agreeably to orders, to the latter, respecting the forwarding of the aforesaid articles. As 'Ádil Khán, however, departed this life very shortly after the receipt of the mandate, his servants forwarded to Court four out of the whole number of led horses, together with an epistle from his successor, in charge of the above-mentioned slaves. They were accordingly presented on the 1st of Rabí'u-s sání this year, and their value was almost a *lac* of rupees.

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LXIV.

BÁDSHÁH-NÁMA
OF
MUHAMMAD WÁRIS.

[THIS work is also called *Sháh Jahán-náma* It is the completion of the *Badsháh-náma* of 'Abdu-l Hamíd by his pupil and assistant Muhammad Wáris, who was appointed to carry on the work when his friend and master had become incapacitated by age It embraces the last ten years of Sháh Jahán's reign, from the beginning of the twenty-first to the thirtieth year, in which his actual reign closed The work was submitted for revision to 'Aláu-l Mulk Túní, entitled Fázil Khán, who became *wazír* in Aurangzeb's days, and the part of the work subsequent to the death of 'Allámí Sa'du-lla Khán was written by Fázil Khán, under the command of the Emperor himself. Little is known of Muhammad Wáris, but the author of the *Ma-ásir-i 'Alamgírí* records that "On the 10th Rabí'u-l awwal, 1091 (1680 A D), Wáris Khán, news reader, the graceful author of the third volume of the *Bádsháh-náma,* was killed by a blow of a pen-knife from a mad student, whom he had taken under his protection, and who used to sleep at night near his patron."

The work is composed in a style similar to that of 'Abdu-l Hamíd, and is of considerable length It closes with a list of the *shaikhs,* learned men and poets who flourished during its decade.

The history of this period of Sháh Jahán's reign has been so fully supplied by the Extracts from the *Sháh Jahán-náma* of 'Ináyat Khán, that only one short Extract has been taken from this work.

Sir H. M. Elliot's MS is a poor one It is an 8vo, twelve

inches by six and a half, and contains 357 leaves, of nineteen lines to the page. There is a copy in the British Museum, and one in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society]

EXTRACT

Twenty-second Year of the Reign.

[[1] When the Emperor set off from Sháhjahánábád to chastise the Persians, it was his intention to march on and make no stay until he reached Kábul * * But afterwards it appeared clear to his far-reaching judgment, that it was very improbable that the Sháh of Persia would enter upon a campaign in the winter season, when grain and forage are very difficult to procure in that country (of Kandahár) The Emperor's counsellors also represented that the Sháh of Persia had resolved upon this evil enterprise in that infatuation which arises from youth and inexperience During the winter he would be busy making preparations in Khurásán, and in the spring he would commence operations In this way the late Sháh 'Abbás came up against Kandahár in the reign of the Emperor Jahángír The severe cold and the heavy snow and rain, together with scarcity of provender for the horses, would be sources of great suffering to the Imperial army , so under all circumstances it was desirable to postpone the march until the Nau-roz * * So it was resolved to wait the arrival of news from Kandahár On the 12th Muharram a despatch arrived from the commandant of the fortress, to the effect that on the 10th Zí-l hijja the Sháh of Persia had invested the fortress, his evident object being to accomplish this, the first enterprise of his reign, before the spring, when the roads would be open for the advance of the Imperial army.]

[1] See suprà, p 87

LXV.

'AMAL-I SÁLIH

OF

MUHAMMAD SÁLIH KAMBÚ.

[THIS, like the other histories of the reign of Sháh Jahán, is sometimes called *Sháh Jahán-náma* It is a history of the reign of that Emperor from his birth to his death in 1076 A H (1665 A D)

Muhammad Sálih was a fine scribe,[1] so there can be little doubt that he is the Muhammad Sálih he himself mentions in his list of the noted caligraphists of his time. Mír Muhammad Sálih and Mír Muhammad Múman were, he says, sons of Mír 'Abdu-lla, *Mushkin kalam*, whose title shows him to have also been a fine writer Muhammad Sálih was known as a poet by the Persian title *Kashfi* and the Hindí *Subhán*. Both brothers were not only fine writers, but accomplished Hindí singers In the list of *mansabdárs*, Muhammad Sálih is put down as commander of five hundred.

The *'Amal-i Sálih* is a valuable history, and has a good reputation in the East It is not so long as the *Bádsháh-nama* of 'Abdu-l Hamíd and Muhammad Wáris, and it does not enter into the same petty details The latter part of it, devoted to the life of Sháh Jahán after his deposition, is very brief, and notices only the tragic deaths of his sons and his own peaceful decease The style is polished, and often highly wrought and rhetorical. At the end of the work the author has added biographical notices of the *saiyids, shaikhs,* learned men, physicians, poets, and fine writers who were çontemporary with Sháh Jahán. Also a list of princes, nobles, and commanders, arranged according to their respective ranks A borrowed MS., belonging to a native gentleman, is a folio 13 in. × 9, containing about 1000 to 1200 pages.]

[1] See supra, p. 5

EXTRACTS

Thirty-first Year of the Reign.

Death of 'Alí Mardán Khán

[[1] Amíru-l Umará 'Alí Mardán Khán, being ill with dysentery, started for Kashmír, the air of which country suited his constitution, but he died on his way on the 12th Rajab * * His sons, Ibráhím Khán and the others, brought his corpse to Lahore, and buried it in the tomb of his mother He was a noble of the highest dignity, he held a *mansab* of 7000 with 7000 horse, 5000 *do-aspas* and *sih-aspas* He had an *in'ám* of one *kror* of *dáms* Altogether his emoluments amounted to thirty *lacs* of rupees. His death caused the Emperor great grief]

[2] *Mu'azzam Khán joins Aurangzeb Capture of several fortresses belonging to Bíjápúr Defeat of 'Ádil Khán's army*

[Mu'azzam Khán departed from Court, and marched with the army under his command to Prince Aurangzeb, whom he joined on the 12th Rabí'u-s sání On the same day the Prince, making no delay, marched on his enterprise with all the Imperial forces and his own followers In the course of fourteen days he reached Chándor There he left Walí Mahaldár Khán with a force of matchlockmen, etc., to keep open the communications and provide supplies Next day he encamped under the fort of Bidar This fortress was held by Sídí Marján, an old servant of Ibráhím 'Ádil Khán He had been commander of the fortress for thirty years, and had kept it fully armed and ready He had under him nearly 1000 horse and 4000 infantry, consisting of musketeers, rocketmen and gunners. The bastions and walls and works were carefully looked after, and he made every preparation for sustaining a siege As soon as Prince Aurangzeb

[1] See supra, pp 64, 67 [2] See supra, p 117

reached the place, he resolved to reduce it. This strong fortress was 4500 yards (*dará'*) in circumference, and twelve yards high, and it had three deep ditches twenty-five yards (*gaz*) wide, and fifteen yards deep cut in the stone The Prince went out with Mu'azzam Khán and reconnoitered the fort on all sides. He settled the places for the lines of approach, and named the forces which were to maintain them Notwithstanding the heavy fire kept up from the bastions and the citadel, in the course of ten days Mu'azzam Khán and the other brave commanders pushed their guns up to the very edge of the ditch and began to fill it up Several times the garrison sallied forth and made fierce attacks upon the trenches, but each time they were driven back with a great loss in killed and wounded The besiegers by the fire of their guns destroyed two bastions and battered down the battlements of the wall

On the 23rd Jumáda-s sání, in the thirty-first year of the reign, Muhammad Murád, with a body of musketeers and other forces, sallied from his trenches to make the assault. As soon as he reached the bastion opposite the trench of Mu'azzam Khán, he planted scaling ladders in several places, and ascended the wall. Marján, the commandant, had dug a great hole in the rear of this bastion, and had filled it with gunpowder, rockets and grenades (*hukka*) With his eight sons and all his personal followers he stood near this bastion, and with the greatest courage and determination endeavoured to resist the assault Just then, through the good fortune which at all times attends the royal arms, * * a rocket directed against the besiegers fell into the above-mentioned hole, and ignited the gunpowder A tremendous explosion followed, which destroyed many of the enemy. Sídí Marján and two of his sons were severely burnt Those who escaped the explosion bore him and his sons back into the citadel The brave assailants took advantage of this accident, and pouring into the fortress on all sides, they killed or bore down all who resisted, and raised the flag of victory * * The commandant of the fortress, with great humility, sued for quarter, and as he was

mortally wounded and unable to move, he sent his sons with the keys of the fortress. They were graciously received by the Prince, who presented them with *khil'ats*, and promised them the Imperial favour. On the day after the giving up the keys, the Prince entered the city, and proceeding to a mosque which had been built two hundred years before, in the reign of the Bahmaní Sultáns, he caused the *khutba* to be read in the name of the Emperor * * This strong fortress was thus taken in twenty-seven days Twelve *lacs* of rupees in money, and eight *lacs* of rupees in lead, gunpowder, stores, and other munitions of a fortress, were obtained, besides two hundred and thirty guns

Bidar is a pleasant, well-built city, and stands on the borders of Telingána It is related in the histories of Hindústán, that Bidar was the seat of government of the Ráís of the Dakhin, and that the Ráís of the Karnátik, Mahratta (country), and Telingána were subject to the Ráí of Bidar Daman, the beloved of King Nala of Málwá, whose story Shaikh Faizí has told in the poem entitled *Nal o Daman*, was daughter of Bhím Sen, the *marzbán* of Bidar Sultán Muhammad, son of Sultán Tughlik, first subdued the place. After that, it passed into the hands of the Bahmanís, and subsequently into the possession of the Kings of Bíjápúr. By the favour of God, it now forms part of the Imperial dominions

Intelligence reached the Prince that large bodies of the forces of 'Ádil Khán were collecting at Kulbarga, and preparing for war. He consequently sent Mahábat Khán with fifteen thousand well-mounted veteran cavalry to chastise these forces, and not to leave one trace of cultivation in that country Every building and habitation was to be thrown down, and the land was to be made a dwelling for the owls and kites The Khán had not got far from Bidar, when, in the middle of the next day, two thousand of the enemy's horse, at about three *kos* from the Imperial army, seized a number of bullocks, belonging to the Banjáras, while they were grazing, and were driving them off to their quarters Mu'azzam Khán and * * led a detachment of the

Imperial forces after them, to inflict chastisement upon them, and release the cattle. Pressing forward with all speed, they overtook the enemy, killed a great many of them, and rescued all the cattle. Such of the enemy as escaped made off with great difficulty, and the royal forces returned The wretched Afzal, who had advanced very boldly, when he heard of this disaster, was paralyzed, and fled in consternation from Kalyání, without even waiting for the fugitives to come in, and fell back upon his other forces. Mahábat Khán then ravaged Kalyání, and continued his march Every day the black-coated masses of the enemy appeared in the distance, but they continued to retreat. * *

On the 8th Rajab, Ján Muhammad and Afzal and Rustam, the son of Randaula, and others of the enemy, with about 20,000 horse, made their appearance near the royal army, and were very bold and insolent * * Mahábat Khán left his camp in charge of Subhán Singh, and marched out against them The enemy began to discharge rockets upon the right wing under the command of Diler Khán, and a battle followed. * * Mahábat Khán was a good soldier, and when reports were brought to him from all parts of the field, he saw that Ikhlás Khán and Diler Khán were hard pressed * * So he charged the enemy with such impetuosity that they were filled with dismay and fled The victors followed in close pursuit, and many of the fugitives fell by their swords

Aurangzeb, having left Mu'azzam Khán and Ikbál Khán in charge of Bidar, on the 23rd Rajab marched against Kalyání On the 29th he reached that place, and on the same day he reconnoitered the fortress and invested it * * On the 8th Sha'bán the approaches were advanced to the edge of the ditch, and the besieged were hard pressed [*Several actions with and victories over the enemy The country ravaged Kulbarga occupied.*] When the ditch was filled with stones and earth, and the bastions and ramparts had been well battered, on the 27th the assailants placed their ladders and mounted a bastion which had been much damaged, and began to undermine and throw down

the wall. The besieged made a gallant resistance, and kept up a heavy discharge of rockets, arrows, and muskets Grenades, naphtha-balls, and trusses of burning straw were thrown from the top of the walls But the assailants pressed bravely on, and victory was not far off At this juncture Dilâwar Habshí, who with 2500 men held the place for 'Ádil Khán, felt himself in great danger of destruction, and on the 29th wrote a letter begging for forgiveness and offering to surrender Most of the garrison were Musulmáns, so the commandant and all his men were allowed to march out with their property and their wives and families On the 1st Zí-l ka'da, 1068, the keys of the fortress were given up, and the Prince entered and had the *khutba* read The commandant sought and obtained permission to go to Bíjápúr]

Illness of the Emperor.

[Suddenly, on the 1st Zí-l ka'da, 1067 A H, the Emperor was attacked with serious illness in the form of strangury, constipation and other sympathetic affections, so that he was unable to attend to worldly affairs Physicians tried all the remedies of their art, but in vain, for the disorder increased * * In Safar, 1068, the health of the Emperor had so improved that he was convalescent, * * and great rejoicings followed]

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN.

[In the eyes of his father the Emperor, Prince Dárá Shukoh was superior to his brothers both in merit and age. When his other sons departed to their respective governments, the Emperor, from excessive love and partiality, would not allow Dárá Shukoh to go away from him He also evinced the greatest partiality and affection for the Prince, providing for his honour and dignity * *

Sháh Buland Ikbál (Dárá Shukoh) took upon himself to

interfere in the direction of affairs of State, and induced His Majesty to do many unwise things which tended to create disturbances He urged that Murád Bakhsh had diverged from the path of rectitude, and had not ceased to act improperly It was therefore advisable to remove him from the *súba* of Ahmadábád, and to settle upon him the *jágir* of Birár. If he obeyed the Emperor's order and proceeded to Birár, his offences might be forgiven and clemency be extended to him But if, from want of foresight and intelligence, he should prove refractory and disobey the orders, he should be suitably chastised and be brought to Court under restraint. Dárá Shukoh then spoke of Prince Aurangzeb, and represented that a party of intriguers had artfully led him astray, and *nolens volens* had persuaded him that he had been worsted by the malice and revenge of his brother (Dárá Shukoh), and that he should get the assistance of his brother (Murád Bakhsh), who had resolved upon rebellion[1] He should then march with the splendid army under his command to the capital, under the pretence of paying a visit to his father, and wherever he passed he should subvert the authority of the Government To carry out his aims Aurangzeb had set himself to win over to his side the great nobles of the State, some of whom he had made his own, and that he was endeavouring to effect his object by secret communications before his designs should become public The money which he had received as tribute from Kutbu-l Mulk he had spent without permission in the raising of forces, and it would not be long before he would cast off his obedience and commence a war It was to be hoped that the army which had been sent by the Emperor for the reduction of Bíjápúr, and was now with Aurangzeb, might not be won over by the money which he had received as tribute, for assuredly, if this were so, it would be a great danger to the State, which it would be almost impossible to avert The first thing to be done was to send *farmans* recalling all the nobles and their forces from the Dakhin. Then a strenuous effort should be made

[1] Here the MSS differ, and the meaning is not certain

to get possession of the treasure. By these means the strength and greatness of the Prince would be diminished, and the friends and allies, the strength of his cause, would fall away. * *

Although the Emperor showed no haste in adopting these views, he was quite willing to send the letters. He could not resist the influence Prince Dárá had obtained over him. So letters of the unpleasant purport above described were sent off by the hands of some of the Imperial messengers The messengers reached Prince Aurangzeb as he was engaged in directing the operations against Bíjápúr, and he had the place closely invested The arrival of the messengers disturbed the minds of the soldiers, and greatly incensed the Prince, so, much confusion arose. Some of the nobles, Mahábat Khán, Ráo Sattar Sál, and others, went off to Ágra without leave or notice Mu'azzam Khán also, who was the head and director of this campaign, acted in a very ungenerous and foolish way, and wanted to go off to Ágra, quite regardless of the duty and respect he owed to the Prince

This want of support from his followers, and the anxiety he felt about the Emperor, led the Prince to accept the proposals of the people of Bíjápúr Having settled this difficult matter, he marched towards Aurangábád, and as soon as he arrived there, he sent messengers in a courteous way[1] to Mu'azzam Khán, desiring him to come and have an interview The Khán would not listen to the invitation, and acted in a manner unworthy of a great noble So the Prince ordered Prince Sultán Muhammad to set forth with all speed and use every expedient to bring the Khán to his presence When the directions were carried out, and the Khán arrived, Aurangzeb immediately provided for his punishment, and sent him prisoner to the fort of Daulatábád He seized all his treasure, elephants and other property, and gave them into the charge of the State treasurers]

[1] [*Az rah i madára*, which may mean either "by way of courtesy" or "by way of dissimulation"]

Rájá Jaswant.

[After the defeat of Sháh Shujá', and the return of Aurangzeb to Ágra, the Emperor sent a force * * to inflict salutary punishment upon Rájá Jaswant. The Rájá feeling himself unable to resist, in his great perplexity and alarm, sent some of his servants to Dárá Shukoh, who, previous to the Rájá's flight, had arrived at Ahmadábád, and, without waiting to recover from his toilsome journey through the sandy desert, was busily occupied in gathering forces * * Dárá Shukoh, having satisfied himself by taking from the promise-breaking Rájá a covenant which the Rájá confirmed with the most solemn Hindu pledges, marched towards his country The Emperor was meanwhile moving towards Rájá Jaswant's territory, and he wrote the Rájá a letter, in which expostulations and threats were mingled with kindness This letter greatly alarmed the Rájá, so that he departed from Dárá and returned to his own country Making use of Mírzá Rajá Jai Singh, he wrote a penitent and submissive letter to the Emperor, begging forgiveness for his offences; and the Emperor in his clemency forgave him, granted him the *súbadári* of Ahmadábád, and sent him a *farmán*, bestowing honours and promising favours]

Fate of the Princes Sulaimán Shukoh, Sultán Muhammad and Murád Bakhsh

[The *zamíndár* of Srínagar, having consented to surrender Prince Sulaimán Shukoh, sent him to Court in the custody of his son. Two days after his arrival, the Prince was brought into the Emperor's presence, who directed that on the morrow he, along with Prince Sultán Muhammad, should be sent to the fort of Gwálior, and that both should be fed with *koknár* [1] * * The sons of 'Alí Nakí, who had a charge against Murád Bakhsh for the murder of their father, were sent to Gwálior, with directions, that after a lawful judgment had been given, the retaliation for

[1] [Otherwise called *pusta*, a slow poison prepared from poppies]

blood should be exacted from the Prince When they arrived at Gwálior, an inquiry was made by the Kází The Prince was resigned to his fate, and said, "If the Emperor will accept my pledges and spare my life, no harm will happen to his throne, but if he is resolved to take my life, there is no good in listening to such low fellows as these. He has the power, and can do what he likes." On the 21st Rabí'u-s sání, 1072, under the orders of the Kází, two slaves killed the Prince with two blows of their swords. He was buried in the fort of Gwálior In the month of Shawwal Prince Sulaimán Shukoh died from the treatment of his jailors, in the thirtieth year of his age, and was buried beside Murád Bakhsh]

SHAH-JAHAN-NAMAS

[Besides the *Shah-Jahan-namas* noticed at length, there are among the MSS borrowed by Sir H M Elliot, several others bearing the same title 1 "An abstract of the lengthy *Shah-Jahan-nama* " (the *Badshah-nama*) of 'Abdu-l Hamid Lahori This was written in 1225 A H (A D 1810), by Muhammad Záhid 2 A fragment of another and lengthy *Shah-Jahan-nama*, by Mirzá Jalálu-d din Tabátaba 3 A short work by Bhagwán Dás, which gives brief notices of the ancestors of Sháh Jahan, beginning with Adam 4 A poem by Mirzá Muhammad Ján Mashhadi This is called *Sháh-Jahán-nama*, but the title given to it by the author would rather appear to be *Zafar-náma* 5 Another *Shah-Jahan-náma* in verse, by Mír Muhammad Yahya Káshí]

LXVI

SHA'H JAHA'N-NA'MA

OF

MUHAMMAD SA'DIK KHA'N

[THE author of this history of Sháh Jahán was Muhammad Sádik, who was *Wáki'-navis* in attendance upon Prince Sháh Jahán in his campaign against the Ráná during the life of Jahángír. He afterwards received the title of Sádik Khán The work embraces the reign of Sháh Jahán "from his accession to the throne unto the termination of the confinement into which he fell through the stupidity of Dárá Shukoh" A copy of the work in the British Museum ends with the deposition of Sháh Jahán, but the author adds that the deposed monarch lived eight years in captivity. Sir H Elliot's MS. goes on without any break to the end of the reign of Aurangzeb, but to have written all this, Sádik Khán must have lived over a century The history of the reign of Aurangzeb turns out to be the same as that of the *Muntakhabu-l Lubáb* of Kháfí Khán, with some slight variations, not greater perhaps than Col Lees found in various MSS of that work [1]

The history is of moderate extent, and is written in a simple style. Similarity or identity in many passages shows that Kháfí Khán used the work for his history of the reign of Sháh Jahán. There is also among Sir H M. Elliot's MSS one called *Tabakát-i Sháh-Jaháni*, written by the same author. This consists of notices of the great and distinguished men of the reign of Sháh Jahán The names are numerous, but the notices are short.]

[1] Journal Royal Asiatic Society, N S vol iii p 473

LXVII.

MAJÁLISU-S SALÁTÍN

OF

MUHAMMAD SHARÍF HANAFÍ

THE *Majálisu-s Salátín*, or "Assemblies of the Sultáns," was written by Muhammad Sharíf Hanafí The reason he assigns for writing it is, that no one had courage enough in his time to wade through long histories, especially mentioning those of Ziá Barní, Kází 'Ajúz Bádsháhí, and 'Abdu-l Kádir, which are each works of considerable size, and he therefore determined, notwithstanding his constant avocations, to write an abridged history of India In the midst of a hundred interruptions, he set himself to the work, but, short as it is, he was nearly failing in his resolution to complete it, and "a wind arose occasionally which was nearly making his pen fly away like an arrow from a bow, and converting his paper into a flying kite." At last he asked his spiritual teachers for their aid and countenance, and through their encouragement he brought it to a completion

The same irresolution and want of leisure seem to have deprived us of the account of his travels, which, as will be seen from one of the following extracts, extended to a distance quite unusual in his days. He had travelled from Madura in Southern India to Kashmír, and had dwelt for some time in the intermediate countries; and he tells us that if he had recorded all the wonderful things he had seen, he might have filled a thousand volumes He was employed in some public capacity during the whole time that he was making these tours, for he signifies that he was a person of no mean consideration

The work was composed in the early part of Sháh Jahán's reign, in the year 1038 A H. (1628 A D), according to a chronogram at the close of the work in which the date is recorded.

The *Majálisu-s Salátín* is not divided into chapters, but the following abstract will show the pages where the principal dynasties and reigns commence and end.

CONTENTS

SIZE—12mo. containing 258 pages, each of 9 lines

The copy from which the following Extracts are taken is in one of the Royal Libraries at Lucknow. I know of no other

[The Extracts were translated by a *munshi* and corrected by Sir H. M. Elliot]

EXTRACTS

Anecdotes of Muhammad Tughlik

[1] After some time, intelligence was brought that Malik Bahrám Abiya, the adopted brother of Sultán Tughlik Sháh, had revolted in Multán, and put 'Alí Akhtí to death, whom Sultán Muhammad 'Ádil had sent with orders to summon the rebel The Sultán, with a view to subdue the rebellion, marched from Daulatábád towards Dehlí, and thence reached Multán by successive marches. Malik Bahrám came out to oppose him, but was defeated and slain His head was brought to the Sultán, who was about to order a general massacre of the inhabitants of Multán, and make streams of blood flow, when the staff of the

[1] See suprà, Vol III p. 242.

world, the most religious Shaikhu-l Hakk, came bare-headed to the King's court, and stood before him soliciting pardon for the people. The Sultán forgave them for the sake of that holy man. In short, this King called himself just, and generally before executing persons he certainly did refer the case for the decree of the expounders of the law

It is said of him, that one day, having put on his shoes, he went on foot to the court of Kází Kamálu-d dín, the Chief Justice, and told him that Shaikh-záda Jám had called him unjust, he demanded that he should be summoned and required to prove the injustice of which he accused him, and that if he could not prove it, he should be punished according to the injunctions of the law. Shaikh-záda Jám, when he arrived, confessed that he had made the assertion The Sultán inquired his reason, to which he replied, "When a criminal is brought before you, it is entirely at your royal option to punish him, justly or unjustly, but you go further than this, and give his wife and children to the executioners that they may do what they like with them In what religion is this practice lawful? If this is not injustice, what is it?" The Sultán remained silent, and when he left the court of the Kází, he ordered the Shaikh-záda to be imprisoned in an iron cage, and on his journey to Daulatábád he took the prisoner with him on the back of an elephant. When he returned to Dehlí, on passing before the court of the Kází, he ordered the Shaikh-záda to be brought out of the cage[1] and cut to pieces. Hence it may be learnt that he possessed very opposite qualities. He was called by the common people "the unjust." There are many similar stories of the atrocities he committed. Tyranny took the place of justice, and infidelity that of Islám. At last he was seized with fever, and departed to the next world, when he was in the vicinity of Thatta, on the 21st Muharram, A.H. 752 (20th March, 1351 A.D.) The period of his reign was twenty-seven years.

[1] A few years later we find the Rája of Golkonda imprisoned in an iron cage by Sultán Kulí Kutb Sháh —Briggs' *Firishta*, vol iii p 374

Accession of Sháh Jahan[1]

When Núru-d dín Muhammad Jahángír died, the second Lord of the Conjunction, the rightful heir, Sháh Khurram, who was entitled Sháh Jahán, was in the Dakhin at a distance of three months' journey from the place where the Emperor Jahángír had died It is well known to politicians that the throne of royalty cannot remain vacant for a moment, and therefore the ministers of the government and the principal officers of the Court considered it expedient to place Sultán Dáwar Bakhsh, the grandson of the Emperor Jahángír, upon the throne for some days, and thus to guard against mutinies and disturbances which might otherwise arise. They defeated Sháhriyár, who, through his vain ambition, had proclaimed himself King in Lahore. The Emperor Shahábu-d dín Muhammad Sháh Jahán (may his dominions and reign increase, and may the world be benefited by his bounty and munificence!) also came with a powerful army *viâ* Gujarát and Ajmír, and soon arrived at Ágra, which was the seat of his and his forefathers' government He mounted the throne of sovereignty in the fort of Ágra on Monday the 7th of Jumáda-l ákhir, corresponding with the 25th of Bahman, and distributed largesses and rewards among his subjects May the Almighty keep this generous and world-conquering King under His protection and care!

Revenues of Hindústán and the Dakhin.

It also entered into the mind of this "most humble slave of God" to write a short account of the different provinces of Hindústán, and make it a portion of this small work, detailing how much of this country was in possession of the Emperor Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Akbar and his son Núru-d dín Jahángír, and into how many *súbas* it is now divided.

Be it not concealed that the whole country of Hindústán, which is known to form one-fourth of the inhabited world, and

[1] See suprà, Vol VI p 435

reckoned as the largest of all the countries, is divided into fourteen *súbas*, or provinces.

First, the Province of Dehlí, revenue upwards of 65,61,00,000 *dáms*. Second, the Province of Ágra, which is the seat of government; revenue 82,25,00,000 *dáms* Third, the Province of the Panjáb, or Lahore, present revenue, 82,50,00,000 *dáms* Fourth, the Province of Kábul, including Kashmír, etc., revenue 25,00,00,000 *dáms* Fifth, the Province of the Dakhin, or Ahmadnagar, revenue 28,35,00,000 *dáms* Sixth, the Province of Khándesh and Birár, revenue 87,32,00,000 *dáms* Seventh, the Province of Málwá, revenue 28,00,00,000 *dáms* Eighth, the Province of Gujarát, revenue 50,64,00,000 *dáms* Ninth, the Province of Bihár, including Patná and Jaunpúr, revenue 31,27,00,000 *dáms* Tenth, the Province of Oudh with its dependencies, revenue 23,22,00,000 *dáms* Eleventh, the Province of Ajmír with its dependencies, revenue 42,05,00,000 *dáms*. Twelfth, the Province of Allahábád, revenue 30,70,00,000 *dáms* Thirteenth, the Province of Sind, including Multán, Thatta and Bhakkar, revenue 40,00,00,000 *dáms*. Fourteenth, the Province of Bengal, which is equal to two or three kingdoms, revenue 50,00,00,000 *dáms*.

The revenue of all the territories under the Emperors of Dehli amounts, according to the Royal registers, to six *arbs* and thirty *krors* of *dáms* One *arb* is equal to a hundred *krors* (a *kror* being ten millions), and a hundred *krors* of *dáms* are equivalent to two *krors* and fifty *lacs* of rupees. Each of the fourteen provinces above mentioned formed the territory of a powerful king, and was conquered by the sword of the servants of the Chaghatáis Nine of these fourteen provinces have been visited by the poor compiler of this book, and the following is a detail of them.

The Author's Travels.

He was born in the province of the Dakhin, and lived five years there. Though it is mentioned as one province, yet the

whole territory of the Dakhin, through which he travelled with his father, consists of five provinces. Ahmadnagar is one province, Bíjápúr is another, Golkonda is a third, the Karnátik, which is a large territory extending as far as Setband Rámeshwar, forms a separate province. Khándesh and Birár, which are in reality two provinces, though rated above only as one, were visited throughout every space of their whole extent by the writer, who has also travelled over the provinces of Gujarát, Málwá, Ajmír, Dehlí, and Ágra, as well as those of the Panjáb or Lahore, and Sind, which includes Thatta, Bhakkar and Multán. By the favour of God, he possessed authority in all these provinces, and visited them as a person of consideration If he were to note down the wonders and curiosities of all the places he has seen, he would require to blacken paper equal to one thousand volumes He has therefore avoided enlarging his work

He may, however, as well mention, that when in the territory of the Karnátik, he arrived in company with his father at the city of Southern Mathurá (Madura), where, after a few days, the ruler died and went to the lowest hell This chief had 700 wives, and they all threw themselves at the same time into the fire This event was related by the compiler of this book at Burhánpúr, in the presence of the Nawáb Khán-khánan, son of Bairám Khán, but the Nawáb did not believe it The *vakíl* of the Rájá of the Karnátik, whose name was Kaner Ráí, was also present at the court of the Nawáb, and when inquiries were made of him respecting the truth of my assertion, he related the event exactly as the writer had done So the Nawáb entered it in his note-book

All the people of this territory are idolators, and eat all the wild animals of the forest There is not a single Musulmán there Occasionally a Musulmán may visit the country, deputed by Nizám Sháh, 'Ádil Sháh or Kutb Sháh, but the natives are all infidels. The *Madarí malangs* and *jogís* go by this road to Sarandíp and the hill-fort of Ceylon, which is the place where the impression of Adam's footstep is preserved

In A.H. 1031 the writer of this book visited the delightful land of Kashmír, when he accompanied the victorious camp of the Emperor who had an army as numerous as the stars, viz Núru-d dín Muhammad Jahángír, and was in the immediate service of the most exalted and noble Nawab, the Great Khán, the best of all the descendants of the chosen prophet, the chief of the house of 'Alí, a nobleman of high rank and dignity, viz Kásim Khán, may God preserve him!

LXVIII

TÁRÍKH-I MUFAZZALÍ

OF

MUFAZZAL KHÁN

[THIS is a general history of considerable length, written by Saiyid Mufazzal Khán. It begins with the Creation, and comes down to 1077 A.H. (1666 A.D.), the tenth year of the reign of Aurangzeb. A copy of the Table of Contents from another MS. brings the work down to the time of Farrukh Siyar. The work is divided into seven *makalas* or sections, the sixth and seventh of which are devoted to India. In the account of Násiru-d dín Kubácha it gives an epitome of the *Chach-nama*, which was translated into Persian under his patronage.[1] It is an extensive work of nearly a thousand pages, seventeen lines to the page. The following Extracts, apparently translated by a *munshi*, have been revised by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS

[2] When Sháh Jahán mounted the throne at Ágra, all the officers of State came to pay their respects to him, but Khán-Jahán Lodí, who was one of the greatest officers under the late Emperor Núru-d dín Muhammad Jahángír, did not attend the Court on the plea of illness. This was very displeasing to His Majesty, and when at last he did attend the Court, he spoke in a very disrespectful tone, which greatly excited His Majesty's anger. As a punishment for his insolence, an order was given to level his house with the ground. Being informed of it, he fled imme-

[1] Suprà, Vol. I. page 131.
[2] See suprà, page 7.

diately with his whole family and property, and attempted to cross the Chambal, but was pursued by Rájá Bahádur with a large force. Ismat Khán, the son of Khán-Jahán Lodí, a boy only twelve years of age, came to an engagement with this officer and killed him with his own hand. The royalists, on the death of their general, made a vigorous attack upon the enemy. Ismat Khán was slain, but Khán-Jahán himself escaped and crossed the river

In A. H. 1040 (1630 A. D.) the Emperor proceeded to the Dakhin, and conquered many places there The fort of Daulatábád, which was the capital of the neighbouring territory, was taken by Khán-khánán Muhammad Khán

Such a magnificent and beautiful fort of red stone was built on the banks of the Jumná, that no building like it was ever constructed by any of the kings who had ruled in India Besides other magnificent works, the Peacock throne was made by this monarch, which was set with all kinds of precious stones It was prepared at the expense of nine *kiors* nine *lacs* and one thousand rupees

Sa'du-lla Khán and Mudabbir Khán, who were both good scholars, were deservedly appointed ministers to the throne

Prince Dárá Shukoh was married to the grand-daughter of Sultán Parwez, and the nuptial ceremonies were performed with such pomp and splendour as was never witnessed before

The Mosque of Jáma' Jahán-numá was built near the fort under the superintendence of Sa'du-lla Khán, at the expense of ten *lacs* of rupees.

Prince Muhammad Murád Bakhsh was appointed to the Governorship of Ahmadábád in Gujarát, with the grant of an honorary dress and some jewels to the value of five *lacs* of rupees, and Prince Aurangzeb Bahádur to that of the Province of the Dakhin, and a *khil'at* with a *sarpech*, a horse, and jewels to the value of five *lacs* of rupees, was granted to him They were all ordered to go to their respective provinces, and the Emperor himself came to Ágra, where he remained nine months,

and then returned to Dehlí. As he proceeded on his journey, he amused himself on the way with all kinds of sports

His Majesty had been pleased to assure his mother-in-law, the wife of Ásaf Khán, in the days of her pregnancy, that if she brought forth a son, he would make him a *mansabdár* of 5000 horse, and accordingly, when a son was born to her, the rank was conferred on the child under the title of Sháyista Khán Bahádur

About the same time Muhammad Dárá Shukoh was declared to be the successor to the throne, and the entire management of the Government was placed in his hands The charge was accordingly undertaken by the Prince, but Providence had determined otherwise The country was destined to be ruled by a juster and better prince, and every circumstance which occurred in those days combined to assist him in obtaining the throne

On the 7th Zí-l hijja, 1067 A H (Sept 1657 A D), the Emperor Sháh Jahán, who shall henceforth be called 'Álá Hazrat, fell sick in Dehlí, and was unable to attend the duties of the State Dárá Shukoh, the eldest Prince, intending to avail himself of the circumstance, so managed that no news regarding the public affairs could transpire. This gave rise to great disturbances in the country. Murád Bakhsh, the fourth son of the Emperor, who was the Governor of Gujarát, seated himself on the throne and declared himself independent. Sháh Shujá', the second Prince, also followed the same course in Bengal and prepared an army Dárá Shukoh, being afraid of his brother Aurangzeb, prevailed upon the Emperor during his sickness to recall the forces which were with that Prince. His object in taking this measure was first to despatch the two rebel princes, Shujá' and Murád Bakhsh, out of his way, and then to proceed to the Dakhin against Aurangzeb He took His Majesty to Ágra in the very height of his illness, and sent Rájá Jai Singh with a royal army, and his own force under the command of his eldest son Sulaimán Shukoh, against Sháh Shujá' He also ordered Rájá Jaswant Singh to march with a large army towards Málwá, the threshold of the Dakhin, to prevent the enemy from advancing. This Hindí

chief was one of the greatest Rájás of Hindústán, and as he was very nearly related to the Emperor, he had gained his confidence in a considerable degree, and had obtained a few days before the title of Mahárájá * * *

Towards the end of the year 1067 A.H., when, in consequence of the Emperor's sickness, disturbances arose in all parts of the country, Bím Naraín, *Zamíndár* of Kúch Bihár, took possession of the territory of Kámrúp, which belonged to the empire of Dehlí It was also at the same time encroached upon by Jai Bijai Singh, Rájá of Ásám, who always considered his dominions secure from the depredations of the royal army. To protect Kámrúp, a large army was despatched by land under the command of Khán-khánán, who, considering the service very important, obtained leave of the Emperor to depart immediately, and left Khizipúr on the 13th of Rabí'u-l awwal, in the 4th year after His Majesty's accession to the throne, and conquered the city of Kúch Bihár on the 27th of the same month After the conquest he changed the name of the city to 'Álamgírnagar, and on the 28th proceeded to invade Ásám by way of Ghoiá-ghát. After five months' exertions, the city of Kaikálu, which the chief residence of the ruler of Ásám, was taken on the 6th of Sha'bán An account of the immense booty, both in property and cash, which fell into the hands of the victors, as also of the number of men killed on both sides in these battles, and of the rarities and wonders of Kúch Bihár and Ásám, together with a description of the vegetable and mineral products of the country, the manners and customs of the people, and their forts and buildings, is fully given in the *'Álamgír-náma* When the Emperor received the report of these important conquests from the Khán-khánán, the general of the royal army, he showed great favour to his son, Muhammad Amín Khán, and honoured him with the grant of a *khil'at* in his own presence. The Khán also received a *farmán* in approbation of his services, and was rewarded with an honorary dress, one *kror* of *dáms*, and the insignia of the *farmán* and *tugh*.

LXIX.

MIR-ÁT-I 'ÁLAM,

MIR-ÁT-I JAHÁN-NUMÁ,

OF

BAKHTÁWAR KHÁN

These two histories, though circulating under different names, may be considered as essentially one and the same

Dr Bernhard Dorn, at p xv of the Preface to his "History of the Afghâns," describes the *Mir-at-i 'A'lam* as a most valuable universal history, written in Persian, by Bakhtáwar Khán, who by travel and assiduous study had qualified himself for the task of an historian Dr Dorn mentions also that the history of the Afghâns by Ni'amatu-lla, which he translated, frequently corresponds, word for word, with that found in the *Mir-át-i 'A'lam*

He gives the following abstract of a copy in the British Museum

"Section I —History of the Patriarchs, of the Israelite Kings, of Lukmán and Daniel, of the Hebrew Prophets, of Jesus and the Apostles; of the Seven Sleepers, of some Saints, as Georgius, Barseesa, Samson, etc; of the ancient Sages, as Solon, Pythagoras, Socrates, Diogenes, Plato, Aristotle, Pliny, Homer, Zeno, Ptolemy, Thales, Euclid · after that follows the history of the Persian Monarchs and of the Yemen Kings

Section II —History of Muhammad

III —History of the Khalífs of other Dynasties, as the Saffárides, etc.

IV.—History of the Roman and the Turkish Emperors, etc.

Section V.—History of the Sharífs of Mecca and Medína.

VI.—History of the Turkish Kháns, etc

VII —History of Changíz Khán and his successors

VIII.—History of different Dynasties in Írán, etc, after Sultán Abú Sa'íd Bahádur Khán After that, a history of India follows, in which there is the History of the Kings of Dehlí, from Shahábu-d dín to Ibráhím Lodí, of the Kings of the Dakhin, of Humáyún, Sher Sháh, Islám Sháh, and 'Ádil Sháh, of the Kings of Bengal, etc., of Jaunpúr, Kashmír, etc, Humáyún's conquest of Kábul"

Dow also quotes the work as one of his authorities in his Continuation of Firishta, and in the Preface to his third volume speaks of it as being composed by Názir Bakhtáwar Khán, a man of letters, who led a private life near Faridábád, within a few miles of Agra, and states that it contains the history of the first ten years of Aurangzeb

This latter description corresponds with the *Mir-at-i Jahan-numá* usually met with in this country, and though the name of the author is the same in both instances, it is evident that Dr Dorn's and Colonel Dow's descriptions of the portions devoted to Indian history can scarcely refer to the same work The contents also of the several books differ in many respects, as will be seen from the following abstract of the *Mir-át-i Jahan-numa*, which is found in India, but as there can be no doubt that the two works are the same in substance, there is reason to apprehend that Dr Dorn's description is defective in some particulars

The *Mir-át-i Jahan-numá* is divided into a Preface, seven Books (*A'raish*), and a Conclusion These are subdivided into several Sections (*namáish* and *pairaish*) and Sub-sections (*namud*), of all which the following is a full detail

CONTENTS

Preface

Introduction—Gives an account of the creation of the heaven and earth, their inhabitants—the Jinns, Iblis, etc.

Book I.—History of the patriarchs, philosophers and kings who flourished before the dawn of Muhammadanism. In four Chapters.—Chapter 1. On the Patriarchs.—2. On the Ancient Philosophers.—3. On the Kings of Persia. In five Sections.—Section i. The Peshdádians.—ii. The Kaiánians.—iii. The Mulúku-t Tawáif.—iv. The Sásánians.—v. The Akásirás.—Chapter 4. History of the dependencies of Yaman.

Book II.—An account of Muhammad, his exploits, his character and miracles, his descendants and wives, his successors and Imáms, some of his friends and dependents, the learned men who expounded the religion, the Súfias and Masháikhs. In thirteen Chapters.—Chapter 1. An account of Muhammad and his exploits.—2. His character and miracles.—3. His wives.—4. His descendants.—5. The first four Khalífas.—6. The Imáms.—7. The ten disciples.—8. Friends of Muhammad whose names are given in alphabetical order.—9. The followers of Muhammad and their dependents.—10. The four great Imáms.—11. The seven persons who were appointed to read the Kurán.—12. The great expounders of the Kurán, the descent of the holy mantle, the different orders of the sects of the Shaikhs. In three Sections.—Section i. The great expounders of the Kurán.—ii. The preservation of the holy mantle.—iii. The different orders and sects of the Shaikhs.—Chapter 13. The holy men of Arabia and Persia, the celebrated saints of Hindústán, and the Muhammadan doctors. In three Sections.—Section i. On the Shaikhs and the holy men of Arabia and Persia.—ii. The celebrated Saints of Hindústán.—iii. The Muhammadan doctors.

Book III.—The 'Ummayides, 'Abbásides, and those kings who were contemporary with the 'Abbásides, the Cæsars of Rúm, the Sharífs of Mecca and Medína, the Kháns of the Turks, Mulúku-t Tawáif. In eight Chapters.—1. The 'Ummayides.—2. The 'Abbáside Khalífas.—3. The kings who were contemporary with the 'Abbásides. In eleven Sections.—i. The Táhirians.—ii. The Saffárians.—iii. The Sámánians.—iv. The

Ghaznívides. — v. The Ghorians. — vi. The Buwaihides or Dailamís.—vii The Saljúkians —viii. The Khwárizm-sháhís — ix. The Atábaks.—x. The Isma'ílians.—xi. The Karákhitáis of Kirmán. — Chapter 4. On the Kings of Rúm. In eight Sections.—Section i The Kaiásarás —ii The Saljúkians who ruled in Rúm —iii. The Dánishmandias.—iv. The Salíkiá Kings who governed in Ázurbáiján and Rúm —v. The Salíkiá or Mankúchakia Kings who ruled in Ázurbáiján and Kamákh. —vi The Karámáns.—vii The rulers of Malátiya and Abulistán. —viii. The Ottomans who are called out of respect Khwándgárs —Chapter 5 The Sharífs of Mecca and Medína —6 The Kháns of the Turks. In four Sections —Section i History of Turk, son of Yafis (Japhet), son of Núh, and his descendants — ii. Tátár and his descendants —iii Moghúl and his descendants. —iv. Lánjar Ká-an and his descendants.—Chapter 7. Changíz Khán and his descendants In seven Sections —Section i Changíz Khán.—ii Descendants of Changíz Khán who ruled in Ulugh-yúrat, which was the seat of his government.—iii. His descendants who obtained the rank of Khán in the desert of Kipchák —iv His descendants who obtained the same rank in the country of Írán —v The Kháns of Túrán who were the descendants of Chaghatáí Khán, son of Changíz Khán —vi The Shaibánía Kings —vii. The Kháns of Káshghar who were the descendants of Chaghatái Khán, son of Changíz Khán — Chapter 8 Mulúku-t Tawáif, who reigned in Írán after Sultán Abú Sa'íd Bahádur Khán In five Sections —Section i. The Chúbánians — ii The Ílkánians — iii. Amír Shaikh Abu-l Ishák Inju and the Muzaffarides —iv. The Kurt Kings —v The Sarabdárians

Book IV —Tímúr and his descendants who ruled in Írán and Túrán, the Kárá-kúinlú and Ák-kúinlú rulers;[1] the Safawíya Kings. In four Chapters —Chapter 1 Tímúr and his descendants who governed in Írán and Túrán —2. The Gúrgánían rulers who ruled in Írán and Khurásán —3 The Kárá-kúinlú

[1] See suprà, Vol IV p 299

Kings —4 The Safawiyá Kings who still occupy the throne of the country of Írán

Book V —An account of Hindústán, religious notions of the Hindús; Sultáns of Dehlí and other parts of Hindústán, where at present the *khutba* is read and coin struck in the name of the Emperor. An Introduction and nine Chapters —Introduction. On the religious notions of the Hindús, history of some of the Ráis of Hindústán, and the dawn of Muhammadanism in this country —Chapter 1 Kings of Dehlí from Shahábu-d dín Ghorí to Sultán Ibráhím Lodí —2 Rulers of the Dakhin. In six Sections —Section i The Bahmanís —ii. The Barídís —iii The 'Imád-Sháhís —iv The Nizámu-l Mulkís —v The 'Ádil-Khánís —vi Kutbu-l Mulkís —Chapter 3 The Rulers of Gujarát —4 Chiefs of Sind In two Sections —Section i Kings of Thatta.—ii. Rulers of Multán —Chapter 5 Princes of Bengal —6 Chiefs of Málwá —7 The Fárúkís of Khándesh.—8. The Eastern Kings of Jaunpúr —9 Rulers of Kashmír

Book VI —The Gúrgánians who ruled in Hindústán from the time of Zahíru-d dín Muhammad Bábar to the reign of the Emperor Sháh Jahán In five Chapters —Chapter 1 History of Bábar —2 Humáyún —3. Akbar.—4 Jahángír —5 Sháh-jahán

Book VII —Account of Aurangzeb 'Álamgír In three Chapters.—Chapter 1. His history from the time of his minority to the period ten years subsequent to his accession —2. His qualities and character, his descendants, the extent of his empire; his contemporary rulers, in five Sections — Section i His character —ii. His descendants.—iii. The extent of his empire with a detail of the Provinces —iv His contemporary rulers —v The ancient ministers — Chapter 3 Contains four Sections. — Section i An account of the learned men of the author's time — ii The celebrated caligraphers — iii Some wonderful and marvellous occurrences —iv. An account of the author's ancestors.

Conclusion —On the Poets, including the Author.

SIZE—Small folio, comprising 1540 pages, each page containing an average of 20 lines

It will be seen that both Dr Dorn and Colonel Dow ascribe the *Mir-át-i 'Alam* exclusively to Bakhtáwar Khán; but it may be doubted if he had really anything to do with its composition There is in fact very great confusion attending the authorship of this work, which ought, I believe, to be attributed almost entirely to Muhammad Baká of Saháranpúr, an intimate friend of Bakhtáwar Khán It may be as well to consider the claims of these two, as well as of others, to the authorship

I —BAKHTAWAR KHAN He was a nobleman of Aurangzeb's Court In the tenth year of the reign he was appointed to the rank of one thousand, and in the thirteenth he was made superintendent of the eunuchs He was a favourite eunuch of the Emperor, who followed his bier for some paces towards the grave [1] The *Mir-at-i 'A'lam*, of which he is the presumed author, and which certainly bears his name, was comprised in a Preface, seven *A'rásh*, two *Afzaish*, and a Conclusion, and was written in the year 1078 A.H, the date being represented by the words *A'ina-i bakht*, "the mirror of fortune," which also seems to confirm the title of Bakhtáwar Khán to the authorship of the work He died in 1095 A H (1684 A D) The Preface states how fond the author was of historical studies, and how he had long determined upon writing such a work as this Towards the end of the work, he shows how many works he had written and abridged, amongst others, which are all ascribed by Muhammad Shafi' to Muhammad Baká, we find an abridgment of the *Tarikh-i Alfi* and the *Akhbáru-l Akhyar*. There can be no mistake about the person to whom it is meant to ascribe these works in this passage, because the same Chapter mentions the buildings founded by the person alluded to as the compiler, and amongst them are mentioned the villages of Bakhtáwarpúr and Bakhtáwarnagar

II —MUHAMMAD BAKA His name does not appear in the

[1] Kewal Khán, in the *Tazkiratu-l Umara*

Preface to the *Mir-át-i 'A'lam*, but in the biography of him, written by Muhammad Shafi', it is distinctly stated that he wrote the work at the request, and in the name, of his intimate friend Bakhtáwar Khán, but left it incomplete.

III —Muhammad Shafi' He was the son of the sister of Muhammad Baká, and he tells us in the Preface to the *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá* that Muhammad Baká had left several sheets of an historical work incomplete, ill-arranged, and requiring revision, and that he was thinking of putting them into shape and rendering them fit for publication, when he was warned in a dream that it was a sacred duty he should fulfil towards his uncle's memory, that he readily obeyed this injunction, and after supplying what was defective in the work, especially on the subject of the Prophets, completed his labours in 1095 A H, the year of Bakhtáwar Khán's death, but after it, because he speaks of him under a title used only after death, and called his work *Mir-at-i Jahan-numá*. This is the history of which the detailed contents are given above The loose sheets he alludes to are evidently the *Mir-at-i 'A'lam*, though he does not expressly say so, even when he mentions that work as one of those composed by Muhammad Baká, nevertheless, as the very words of the *Mir-at-i 'A'lam* and the *Mir-át-i Jahan-numa* are identical in the chapters which relate to the same subjects, there can be no doubt that "the loose sheets" and the *Mir-at-i 'A'lam* are also the same, but why the credit of the *Mir-át-i 'A'lam* should be so depreciated it is not easy to say, except it was done for the purpose of enhancing the merit of the nephew's labours

IV —Muhammad Riza He was younger brother of Muhammad Baká. His concern in the work is very incomprehensible, unless on the understanding that, according to the usual Indian foible, he had a quarrel with his nephew, for he also edited the *Jahán-numa* from "the loose leaves" left by Muhammad Baká, without any allusion to the labours of his nephew The precise date of his compilation is not mentioned, but that he succeeded Muhammad Shafi' in the work, and must have been

aware of what he had done, is evident, for at the close of the work, where he gives an account of his ancestors and relations, he mentions the death of Fathu-lla in 1100 A.H., a date five years subsequent to that in which Muhammad Shafí' had stated that Fathu-lla was still living Muhammad Rizá does not say he had the sanction of a dream for his undertaking, but that he had long wished to arrange the dispersed sheets of his brother's history, and had only waited for the time appointed by destiny to do so, which at last, notwithstanding the avocations of his official duties, made its appearance, and the result is the *Mir-at-i Jahan-numá*, a name which he gave to the work, in consequence of the implied wishes of his brother to that effect, but as the imperfect work written in his brother's lifetime was called *Mir-at-i 'A'lam*, it does not appear why the name was changed into *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá*, a title chosen with some reason by his nephew, because it represents the chronogram of 1095 A H The author says his additions comprise an account of the Prophets from Núh to Muhammad, of the Philosophers, of the Imáms, of the Khalífs, of the Saints of Persia, Arabia and Hindústán, and of the Poets. He says he will mention more about his own additions in the Conclusion, but the two copies which I have consulted, one in the Motí Mahal Library at Lucknow, and the other in the possession of Khádim Husain *Sadru-s Sudúr* of Cawnpore, are deficient at the end He designates the history which Muhammad Baká wrote at the request of Bakhtáwar Khán, as *Tarikh-i 'A'lamgiri*, and not *Mir-át-i 'A'lam*, but it is evident that in this case also the "dispersed leaves" are those included in the *Mir-át-i 'A'lam* He divides his *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá* into a Preface, eleven *A'raish*, and a Conclusion, and has subdivided the work in other respects a little more minutely than his predecessor. For instance, he has devoted fourteen *namáish* to an account of the *wazirs*, which by his predecessor is included in one, and he has adopted some other minute differences, in order to give an air of originality to his work, and give him a title to independent authorship; but the

two works called *Mir-át-i Jahán-numa* may be considered in all material respects the same. Neither of the editors has added anything to the history of Aurangzeb's reign by Muhammad Baká, though he carries it down only to 1078 A.H.

It will be seen, therefore, that the real author of these various works is Muhammad Baká, though he is the person to whom they are least ascribed, in consequence not only of his attributing his own labours to others, but from the prominence which his editors have endeavoured to give to their own names.

His real name was Shaikh Muhammad, and his poetical title was Baká He was born in A H 1037 In his early youth he applied himself to the study of the Kurán, and in a short space of time learnt the whole of it by heart Having read a few books with his father, he went to Sirhind, where he studied several branches of knowledge under Shaikh 'Abdu-llah, surnamed Mián, and other learned men He acquired acquaintance with Muhammadan traditions under the tuition of Shaikh Núru-l Hakk, son of Shaikh 'Abdu-l Hakk of Dehlí, and having obtained his permission to teach this branch of learning, he returned to his native city of Sahâranpúr, and devoted his time to imparting his knowledge to others Afterwards, by desire of his father, he forswore worldly concerns, and directed his whole attention to worship and devotion

When his father died, he enrolled himself among the disciples of Shaikh Muhammad of Sirhind, and made in a short time very considerable progress in spiritual knowledge On again returning to his native place, he led, like his ancestors, a retired life Soon after, Iftikhár Khán (Bakhtáwar Khán)—who from early youth had been an intimate friend of Muhammad Baká, and had attained the rank of three thousand horse and the office of steward (*mír-samán*) to the Emperor Aurangzeb—invited him to Court, and secured for him a respectable rank, which he accepted, but with much reluctance, and owing only to the importunities of his friends This appears to have been in the fourth year of Aurangzeb's reign. Although he held a high rank, and had

public duties to attend to, yet he always led a life of retirement; notwithstanding which, we are told that the Emperor was very favourably disposed towards him

Besides writing the *Mir-át-i A'lam*, he made extracts from the works of Hakím Sanái, the *Mantiku-t Tair* of Farídu-d dín Attár, and the celebrated *masnawi* of Maulána Rúmí, "the most eminent writers on Divine subjects, who unanimously agree in their religious tenets"

He also abridged the *Diwán* of Saib and the *Sáki-náma*, and composed a *Riyázu-l Auliyá*, or history of Saints, and a *Tazkiratu-s Shu'ará*, or biography of Poets, with extracts It is probable that much of these two works is comprised in the *Mir-at-i Jahán-numa*, notwithstanding that Muhammad Rizá states the loose sheets left by Muhammad Baká to have been deficient in these particulars The *Riyazu-l Auliya* is an exceedingly useful but rare work, comprised in 380 pages of 15 lines, and its value is greatly enhanced by being arranged alphabetically In the preface to this work the author distinctly states, that in the *Mir-át-i 'A'lam* he had devoted a *namaish* to an account of the Saints, but thought proper to write, at a subsequent period, this more copious work upon the same subject

He was also an original poet, and his poetical talents are highly praised in the *Farhatu-n Nazirin*, at the close of Aurangzeb's reign

Towards the close of his life, he was appointed *sarkar* of Sahåranpúr, where he erected some useful buildings At the instance of his relations and friends he constructed some houses on the banks of the tank of Ráiwála in the suburbs of Saháranpúr. He also founded the quarter known as Bakápúra, besides constructing several mosques and public wells He died in 1094 A H (1683 A D).

Muhammad Baká was descended from a distinguished family. His ancestor, who first came to Hindústán from Hirát, was Khwája Ziáu-d dín He arrived during the reign of Fíroz Sháh in 754 A H. (1353-4 A D). He was received kindly by that

King, was promoted to be *Súbadár* of Multán, and received the title of Malik Mardán Daulat. He was the adoptive father of Saiyid Khizr Khán, who afterwards became King of Dehlí His own lineal descendants were all men of distinction, in their successive generations, until we come to the subject of this article.

The *Mir-át-i 'A'lam*, or the *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá*, is a monument of his industry and ability, and though there is little of novelty, except the account of the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign, yet the compilation must be considered useful and comprehensive The accounts of the Poets and Saints are very copious, and among the best to which reference can be made It is doubtful how far these portions are to be attributed to his pen. They form, certainly, no portion of the *Mir-at-i 'A'lam*

Several works have been formed on the same model as the *Mir-at-i Jahan-numá*, and continuations of the work are occasionally met with, which add to the confusion attending the inquiry respecting the original authorship. There is, for instance, in the Library of Nawáb Siraju-l Mulk, ex-minister of Haidarábád, a large volume styled the *Tarikh-i 'A'lamgír-náma*, continued down to the reign of Muhammad Sháh, subdivided in the same way into *A'rásh* and *Namaish*, etc., all taken from the *Mir-át-i Jahán-numá* The continuation is extracted from the *Táríkh-i Chaghatai.*

This work is not common in India, at least in a perfect form. That of Muhammad Shafí is the least rare, and the best copy I have seen is in the possession of Saiyid Muhammad Rizá, *Sadru-s Sudúr* of 'Alígarh, though it is not uniformly written. It is enriched by some marginal notes written in A.H 1216 by a person who calls himself Muhammad bin 'Abdu-llah. In Europe, besides the copy in the British Museum mentioned above, there is the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds Gentil*, No 48, and the copy of Sir W. Ouseley numbered 305 and 306 in his Catalogue. He observes that he never saw another copy.

[There is also a copy in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society,[1] of which Mr Morley has given a full account.]

The cleanest copy I have seen of this work is in the Library of Muzaffar Husain Khán, a landed proprietor in the Lower Doáb There is a very good copy of the work in the possession of Fakír Núru-d dín of Lahore, and a good copy of the first half of the work is in the Library of Nawáb 'Ali Muhammad Khán of Jhajjar.

EXTRACTS

Aurangzeb's Charity.

When it was reported to His Majesty Aurangzeb, that in the reign of his father every year a sum of seventy-nine thousand *rupees* was distributed through the *Sadru s Sudúr* amongst the poor during five months of the year,—viz twelve thousand *rupees* in each of the months of Muharram and Rabí'u-l awwal, ten thousand in Rajab, fifteen thousand in Sha'bán, and thirty thousand in the sacred month of Ramazán,—and that during the remaining seven months no sum was distributed in charity,—His Majesty ordered the *Sadru-s Sudúr* and other accountants of the household expenses, that with regard to those five months they should observe the same rule, and in each of the other months also they should give ten thousand *rupees* to be distributed among the poor, so that the annual sum expended in charity, including the increase which was now made, amounted to one *lac* and forty-nine thousand *rupees*

The Habits and Manners of the Emperor Aurangzeb.

Be it known to the readers of this work that this humble slave of the Almighty is going to describe in a correct manner the excellent character, the worthy habits and the refined morals of this most virtuous monarch, Abú-l Muzaffar Muhiu-d dín Muhammad Aurangzeb 'Álamgír, according as he has witnessed them with his own eyes The Emperor, a great worshipper of God by natural propensity, is remarkable for his rigid attachment

[1] Catalogue, p 52

to religion. He is a follower of the doctrines of the Imám Abú Hanífa (may God be pleased with him!), and establishes the five fundamental doctrines of the *Kanz.* Having made his ablutions, he always occupies a great part of his time in adoration of the Deity, and says the usual prayers, first in the *masjid* and then at home, both in congregation and in private, with the most heartfelt devotion. He keeps the appointed fasts on Fridays and other sacred days, and he reads the Friday prayers in the *Jami' masjid* with the common people of the Muhammadan faith. He keeps vigils during the whole of the sacred nights, and with the light of the favour of God illumines the lamps of religion and prosperity From his great piety, he passes whole nights in the Mosque which is in his palace, and keeps company with men of devotion In privacy he never sits on a throne He gave away in alms before his accession a portion of his allowance of lawful food and clothing, and now devotes to the same purpose the income of a few villages in the district of Dehlí, and the proceeds of two or three salt-producing tracts, which are appropriated to his privy purse. The Princes also follow the same example During the whole month of Ramazán he keeps fast, says the prayers appointed for that month, and reads the holy Kurán in the assembly of religious and learned men, with whom he sits for that purpose during six, and sometimes nine hours of the night. During the last ten days of the month, he performs worship in the mosque, and although, on account of several obstacles, he is unable to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, yet the care which he takes to promote facilities for pilgrims to that holy place may be considered equivalent to the pilgrimage

From the dawn of his understanding he has always refrained from prohibited meats and practices, and from his great holiness has adopted nothing but that which is pure and lawful. Though he has collected at the foot of his throne those who inspire ravishment in joyous assemblies of pleasure, in the shape of singers who possess lovely voices and clever instrumental performers, and in the commencement of his reign sometimes used to hear them

sing and play, and though he himself understands music well, yet now for several years past, on account of his great restraint and self-denial, and observance of the tenets of the great Imám (Sháfi'í), (may God's mercy be on him!), he entirely abstains from this amusement. If any of the singers and musicians becomes ashamed of his calling, he makes an allowance for him or grants him land for his maintenance

He never puts on the clothes prohibited by religion, nor does he ever use vessels of silver or gold In his sacred Court no improper conversation, no word of backbiting or falsehood, is allowed. His courtiers, on whom his light is reflected, are cautioned that if they have to say anything which might injure the character of an absent man, they should express themselves in decorous language and at full detail He appears two or three times every day in his court of audience with a pleasing countenance and mild look, to dispense justice to complainants who come in numbers without any hindrance, and as he listens to them with great attention, they make their representations without any fear or hesitation, and obtain redress from his impartiality If any person talks too much, or acts in an improper manner, he is never displeased, and he never knits his brows His courtiers have often desired to prohibit people from showing so much boldness, but he remarks that by hearing their very words, and seeing their gestures, he acquires a habit of forbearance and tolerance All bad characters are expelled from the city of Dehlí, and the same is ordered to be done in all places throughout the whole empire. The duties of preserving order and regularity among the people are very efficiently attended to, and throughout the empire, notwithstanding its great extent, nothing can be done without meeting with the due punishment enjoined by the Muhammadan law. Under the dictates of anger and passion he never issues orders of death In consideration of their rank and merit, he shows much honour and respect to the Saiyids, saints and learned men, and through his cordial and liberal exertions, the sublime doctrines of Hanífa and of our pure religion

have obtained such prevalence throughout the wide territories of Hindústán as they never had in the reign of any former king

Hindú writers have been entirely excluded from holding public offices, and all the worshipping places of the infidels and the great temples of these infamous people have been thrown down and destroyed in a manner which excites astonishment at the successful completion of so difficult a task. His Majesty personally teaches the sacred *kalima* to many infidels with success, and invests them with *khil'ats* and other favours. Alms and donations are given by this fountain of generosity in such abundance, that the emperors of past ages did not give even a hundredth part of the amount. In the sacred month of Ramazán sixty thousand rupees,[1] and in the other months less than that amount, are distributed among the poor. Several eating houses have been established in the capital and other cities, at which food is served out to the helpless and poor, and in places where there were no caravanserais for the lodging of the travellers, they have been built by the Emperor. All the mosques in the empire are repaired at the public expense. *Imams*, criers to the daily prayers, and readers of the *khutba*, have been appointed to each of them, so that a large sum of money has been and is still laid out in these disbursements. In all the cities and towns of this extensive country pensions and allowances and lands have been given to learned men and professors, and stipends have been fixed for scholars according to their abilities and qualifications.

As it is a great object with this Emperor that all Muhammadans should follow the principles of the religion as expounded by the most competent law officers and the followers of the Haníf persuasion, and as these principles, in consequence of the different opinions of the *kázis* and *muftis* which have been delivered without any authority, could not be distinctly and clearly learnt, and as there was no book which embodied them all, and as until many books had been collected and a man had

[1] This is double the amount mentioned a little above

obtained sufficient leisure, means and knowledge of theological subjects, he could not satisfy his inquiries on any disputed point, therefore His Majesty, the protector of the faith, determined that a body of eminently learned and able men of Hindústán should take up the voluminous and most trustworthy works which were collected in the royal library, and having made a digest of them, compose a book which might form a standard canon of the law, and afford to all an easy and available means of ascertaining the proper and authoritative interpretation. The chief conductor of this difficult undertaking was the most learned man of the time, Shaikh Nizám, and all the members of the society were very handsomely and liberally paid, so that up to the present time a sum of about two hundred thousand rupees has been expended in this valuable compilation, which contains more than one hundred thousand lines When the work, with God's pleasure, is completed, it will be for all the world the standard exposition of the law, and render every one independent of Muhammadan doctors[1] Another excellence attending this design is, that, with a view to afford facility to all, the possessor of perfections, Chulpi 'Abdu-llah, son of the great and the most celebrated Mauláná 'Abdu-l Hakím of Síalkot, and his several pupils have been ordered to translate the work into Persian.

Among the greatest liberalities of this king of the faithful is this, that he has ordered a remission of the transit duties upon all sorts of grain, cloth, and other goods, as well as on tobacco, the duties on which alone amounted to an immense sum, and to prevent the smuggling of which the Government officers committed many outrages, especially in regard to the exposure of females. He exempted the Muhammadans from taxes, and all people from certain public demands, the income of which exceeded thirty *lacs* of rupees every year. He relinquished the Government claims against the ancestors of the officers of the State, which used to be paid by deductions from their salaries This money every year formed a very large income paid into the

[1] The *Fatáwa-i 'A'lamgiri*

public treasury. He also abolished the practice of confiscating the estates of deceased persons against whom there was no Government claim, which was very strictly observed by the accountants of his predecessors, and which was felt as a very grievous oppression by their sorrowful heirs The Royal orders were also issued to collect the revenues of each province according to the Muhammadan law

Some account of the battles which the Emperor fought before his accession, as well as after that period, has been given above, and we shall now write a few instances of his fortitude At the time when the Royal army arrived at Balkh, 'Abdu-l 'Azíz Khán, with a large force which equalled the swarms of locusts and ants, came and arranged his men in order of battle, and surrounded the Royal camp While the conflict was being carried on with great fury, the time of reading the evening prayers came on, when His Majesty, though dissuaded by some worldly officers, alighted from his horse and said the prayers, etc., in a congregation, with the utmost indifference and presence of mind 'Abdu-l 'Azíz, on hearing of this, was much astonished at the intrepidity of the Emperor, who was assisted by God, and put an end to the battle, saying that to fight with such a man is to destroy oneself

The Emperor is perfectly acquainted with the commentaries, traditions and law He always studies the compilations of the great Imám Muhammad Ghizálí (may God's mercy be on him !), the extracts from the writings of Shaikh Sharaf Yahyá Muníri (may his tomb be sanctified !), and the works of Muhí Shírazí, and other similar books One of the greatest excellences of this virtuous monarch is, that he has learnt the Kurán by heart Though in his early youth he had committed to memory some chapters of that sacred book, yet he learnt the whole by heart after ascending the throne He took great pains and showed much perseverance in impressing it upon his mind He writes a very elegant *Naskh* hand, and has acquired perfection in this art. He has written two copies of the holy book with his own hand, and

having finished and adorned them with ornaments and marginal lines, at the expense of seven thousand rupees, he sent them to the holy cities of Mecca and Medína. He also wrote an excellent *Nasta'lík* and *Shikastah* hand He is a very elegant writer in prose, and has acquired proficiency in versification, but agreeably to the words of God, "Poets deal in falsehoods," he abstains from practising it He does not like to hear verses except those which contain a moral "To please Almighty God he never turned his eye towards a flatterer, nor gave his ear to a poet."

The Emperor has given a very liberal education to his fortunate and noble children, who, by virtue of his attention and care, have reached to the summit of perfection, and made great advances in rectitude, devotion, and piety, and in learning the manners and customs of princes and great men Through his instruction they have learnt the Book of God by heart, obtained proficiency in the sciences and polite literature, writing the various hands, and in learning the Turkí and the Persian languages.

In like manner, the ladies of the household also, according to his orders, have learnt the fundamental and necessary tenets of religion, and all devote their time to the adoration and worship of the Deity, to reading the sacred Kurán, and performing virtuous and pious acts The excellence of character and the purity of morals of this holy monarch are beyond all expression As long as nature nourishes the tree of existence, and keeps the garden of the world fresh, may the plant of the prosperity of this preserver of the garden of dignity and honour continue fruitful!

The Distances of certain places in Hindústán—The Provinces and their Revenues

The length of the daily-increasing empire, from the port of Láhorí, province of Thatta, to the *thánâ* of Bindásal in Bengal, is 994 royal *kos*, 1740 common *kos* known in most parts

of Hindústán. Each royal kos measures 5000 yards, and each yard is the breadth of 42 fingers Two royal kos are equal to three and a half common kos. From the capital of Dehlí to Láhorí the distance is 437 royal kos, and 764 common kos, from the same city to *thána* Bindásal 557 royal kos, and 975 common kos. In the same manner, from Láhorí to Thatta 25 royal kos, from Thatta to Bhakkar 31 kos, from Bhakkar to Multán a little more than 99 kos, from Multán to Láhore 75 kos, from Láhore to Sháh-Jahánábád 170 kos, from Sháh-Jahánábád to Ágra 44 kos, from Ágra to Alláhábád 107 kos, from Alláhábád to Patna 96 kos and a fraction, from Patna to Mungír 37 kos, from Mungír to Akbarnagar or Ráj Mahál 48 kos; from Akbarnagar to Jahángírnagar, or Dacca, 108 kos, from Dacca to Silhet 87 kos, from Silhet to Bindásal 30 kos. and calculating every stage at twelve kos, the usual travelling distance in Hindústán, the whole length is 145 stages, or a journey of four months and twenty-seven days The breadth of the whole empire is from the frontier of Tibet and the delightful province of Kashmír to the fort of Sholápúr, which in the prosperous reign of this monarch has been taken from 'Ádil Khán, a distance of 672 royal kos, or 1176 common kos, from Sháh-Jahánábád, the seat of Empire, to the boundary of Tibet, is 330 royal kos, or 577 common kos, from the seat of the Empire to Sholápúr, 342 royal kos, or 598 common kos, as was found by measurement which may be thus detailed From the boundary of Tibet to Little Tibet, 60 royal kos, from Little Tibet to Kashmír, 64 kos, from Kashmír to Láhore 101 kos, from Láhore to Sháh-Jahánábád 105 kos, from Sháh-Jahánábád to Ágra 44 kos, and from Ágra to Burhánpúr 178 kos At the rate of twelve kos a stage, the whole breadth is 98 stages, occupying a period of three months and ten days

Under the management and care of this virtuous monarch, the country of Hindústán teems with population and culture It is divided into nineteen provinces, and 4440 *parganas*, the revenue of which amounts altogether to nine *arbs*, twenty-four *krors*

seventeen *lacs*, 16,082 *dáms*, or 9,24,17,16,082 *dáms*, out of which the *khálsa*, or the sum paid to the royal treasury, is 1,72,79,81,251 *dams*, and the assignments of the *jagírdárs*, or the remainder, was 7,51,77,34,731 *dáms*

Details of all the Provinces.

Shahjahánábad—285 *mahals*, revenue 1,16,83,98,269 *dams* *A'gra*—230 *mahals*; revenue 1,05,17,09,283 *dams* *Lahore*—330 *mahals*; revenue 90,70,16,125 *dáms* *Ajmir*—235 *mahals*, revenue 63,68,94,882 *dams* *Ahmadabad*—200 *mahals*, revenue 44,00,83,096 *dams* *Alláhábád*—268 *mahals*; revenue 43,66,88,072 *dams* *Oudh*—149 *mahals*, revenue 32,00,72,193 *dams* *Bihár*—252 *mahals*, revenue 72,17,97,019 *dams* *Bengal*—1219 *mahals*, revenue 52,37,39,110 *dams* *Orissa*—244 *mahals*, revenue 19,71,00,000 *dáms*. *Kashmir*—51 *mahals*, revenue 21,30,74,826 *dams*. The four provinces of the Dakhin, viz. *Aurangábad*, *Zafarabád*, *Birar*, and *Khándesh*—552 *mahals*, revenue 2,96,70,00,000 *dams* *Málwa*—257 *mahals*, revenue 42,54,76,670 *dams*. *Multan*—98 *mahals*, revenue 24,53,18,575 *dams*. *Kabul*—40 *mahals*, revenue 15,76,25,380 *dams*. *Thatta*—revenue 57,49,86,900[1] *dams*

From the concluding Chapter of Wonders and Marvels

Those who have visited the territory of Jakkai[2] and Ladakh have heard the following story. In these hills there is found a worm which is exceedingly small It adheres to the toes of the foot, and bites them No force of hand or instrument is able to detach it, but it increases every moment in bulk and length, so that, having swallowed up the toe, it becomes equal to a large rat, and then swallows the whole foot. After this it increases to the size of a dog, and then swallows up both the

[1] [This is probably a mistake for 5,74,98,690]
[2] The Lanskar of our maps.

legs and up to the waist or half the body of the man Although the people beat it much and try to cut it, yet no instrument or weapon has any effect upon it In a short time it becomes like a lion, and having eaten the man entirely, goes away towards the jungle or the hills, and then disappears

LXX

ZÍNATU-T TAWÁRÍKH

OF

'AZÍZU-LLAH.

This "Ornament of Histories," by 'Azízu-llah, is a mere compilation of no value The author informs us in his preface that he intended composing a second volume, in order to reconcile the discrepancies which were observable in different histories Whether he ever did so does not appear, but there is so little critical judgment exercised in the single volume we have under consideration, that the second is not worth the search

In the preface we learn that the work was commenced in 1086 A H (1675-6 A D), but passages occur at the close which show that the work is brought down to 1126 A H. It is evident, however, that the original work concluded with the account of Aurangzeb's children, and that the few last pages, including mention of Bahádur Sháh and Jahándár Sháh, have been added by some transcriber In the last volume the date of 1087 A.H is given, which leads us to conclude that the history occupied one year in its composition

There is nothing worthy of translation

CONTENTS.

Táhirís.—Tulúnias—Ikhshidites.—Ghaznívides—Buwaihides—Isma'ilians—Sharífs.—Saiyids, pp. 410–464

Ghorians.—Afgháns—Mughals, pp 674–816.

Kings of Dehlí, from the earliest Hindí period to the time of Farrukh Siyar, pp 816–996.

SIZE—8vo 996 pages, of 17 lines each.

This work is rare I know of only one copy Malcolm, in his "History of Persia," quotes a *Zinatu-t Tawáríkh* respecting the Ghaznívides, which he describes as a metrical history.

LXXI.

LUBBU-T TAWÁRÍKH-I HIND

OF

RÁÍ BHÁRÁ MAL

The author of this brief history was Bindrában, son of Ráí Bhárá Mal, and was himself also honoured with the title of *Ráí*. We learn from the Conclusion of the *Khulasatu-l Inshá* that Ráí Bhárá Mal was the *díwán* of Dárá Shukoh, and it is probable, therefore, that our author was early initiated into a knowledge of public affairs He says that the reason of his entering on this undertaking was that, "after meditating upon the conquests made by the Tímúrian family in this country, upon their being still more enlarged by 'Álamgír (Aurangzeb) up to the year 1101 A H, and upon the fact of their continuing uninterruptedly in the possession of the same family, he thought of writing a book which should briefly describe how, and in what duration of time, those conquests were achieved, should give the history of former kings, their origin, and the causes which occasioned their rise or fall, the period of their reign, their abilities and enterprises, and which should more particularly treat of the great conquests made by 'Álamgír"

"It is true," he continues, "that former historians have already written several works regarding the history of ancient kings, and especially Abú-l Kásim, surnamed Firishta, whose compositions are very good as far as regards the language, but the defect of that work is that, notwithstanding its being an abstract, it is in many parts too prolix" Adverting also to the fact that

his history does not extend beyond the thousandth year of the Hijra, and hence the important transactions of one hundred years are altogether omitted, he thought it expedient to extract its essence, and compile, with his own additions, a new work, to be called the *Lubbu-t Tawáríkh*, or "Marrow of Histories"

He gives as another reason for the superiority of his work over others, that it treats of the extensive and resplendent conquests of the Emperor 'Álamgír, whose kingdom extended towards the East, West, and the South to the seas, and towards the North to the boundaries of Írán and Túrán, a vast dominion, to the tenth of which no other kingdom is equal Perhaps Rúm only might enter into competition with it, but even in that case "seeing is better than hearing"

CONTENTS

SIZE.—8vo pp. 412, of 15 lines each

Major Scott has made great use of this work in his "History the Dakhin," but so brief a work is of little use The author quotes no authorities in his preface except Firishta, but he

mentions also in the body of the work the *Akbar-náma* and *Jahángír-náma* as being so common as to render it unnecessary for him to enlarge on the periods of which they treat.

The exact year in which the work was composed is somewhat doubtful. It is not quite clear from the preface whether the date should be rendered 1100 or 1101 A H A chronogram given by an early transcriber makes it 1106; and if the title of the work be intended to form a chronogram, which is nowhere stated by the author, the date would be 1108 A H (1696 A D)

The *Lubbu-t Tawaríkh-i Hind* is very common in India One of the best copies I have seen is in the possession of Nawáb Hasan 'Alí Khán of Jhajjar, written in 1148 A H In Europe also it is not uncommon There is a copy of it in the British Museum (No. 5618) There is also an illegible copy at Paris (Gentil, No 44), under the incorrect title of *Muntakhabu-t Tarikh.*

[The translations of the following Extracts were revised by Sir H M. Elliot]

EXTRACTS

Sháh Jahán abolishes the Ceremony of Prostration

It had long been customary with the subjects of this state to prostrate themselves before the King in grateful return for any royal favours conferred on them, and on the receipt of royal mandates. This just King (Sháh Jahán), on his accession to the throne, commanded that the practice should be abolished, and, at the representation of Mahábat Khán (Khán khánán), he established instead the practice of kissing the ground. This also being afterwards found equally objectionable, the King, actuated by his devotion and piety, ordered that it likewise should be discontinued, and that the usual mode of salutation by bowing and touching the head should be restored, with this difference, that, instead of doing so only once, as before, the act should be performed three several times Circular orders, enforcing the observance of this practice, were issued to all the Governors within the royal dominions.

Prosperity of the Country during Sháh Jahán's Reign

The means employed by the King in these happy times to protect and nourish his people; to punish all kinds of oppressive evil-doers, his knowledge on all subjects tending to the welfare of his people, his impressing the same necessity upon the revenue functionaries, and the appointment of honest and intelligent officers in every district, his administration of the country, and calling for and examining annual statements of revenue, in order to ascertain what were the resources of the empire, his showing his royal affection to the people, and expressing his displeasure when necessary, his issuing stringent orders to the officers appointed to the charge of the crown and assigned lands, to promote the increase and welfare of the tenants, his admonishing the disobedient, and constantly directing his generous attention towards the improvement of agriculture and the collection of the revenues of the state,—all these contributed in a great measure to advance the prosperity of his empire. The *pargana*, the income of which was three *lacs* of rupees in the reign of Akbar (whose seat is in the highest heaven!), yielded, in this happy reign, a revenue of ten *lacs*! The collections made in some districts, however, fell short of this proportionate increase. The *chakladárs* who, by carefully cultivating their lands, aided in increasing the revenue, received marked consideration, and *vice versâ*

Notwithstanding the comparative increase in the expenses of the State during this reign, gratuities for the erection of public edifices and other works in progress, and for the paid military service and establishments, such as those maintained in Balkh, Badakhshán, and Kandahár, amounted, at one disbursement only, to fourteen *krors* of rupees, and the advances made on account of edifices only were two *krors* and fifty *lacs* of rupees. From this single instance of expenditure, an idea may be formed as to what the charges must have been under others Besides, in times of war, large sums were expended, in addition to fixed salaries and

ordinary outlay. In short, the expenditure of former reigns, in comparison with that of the one in question, was not even in the proportion of one to four; and yet this King, in a short space of time, amassed a treasure which it would have taken several years for his predecessors to accumulate!

Sháh Jahán's Justice.

Notwithstanding the great area of this country, plaints were so few that only one day in the week, viz Wednesday, was fixed upon for the administration of justice, and it was rarely even then that twenty plaintiffs could be found to prefer suits, the number generally being much less The writer of this historical sketch on more than one occasion, when honoured with an audience of the King, heard His Majesty chide the *dárogha* of the Court that although so many confidential persons had been appointed to invite plaintiffs, and a day of the week was set apart exclusively with the view of dispensing justice, yet even the small number of twenty plaintiffs could but very seldom be brought into Court The *darogha* replied that if he failed to produce only one plaintiff, he would be worthy of punishment.

In short, it was owing to the great solicitude evinced by the King towards the promotion of the national weal and the general tranquillity, that the people were restrained from committing offences against one another and breaking the public peace But if offenders were discovered, the local authorities used generally to try them on the spot where the offence had been committed according to law, and in concurrence with the law officers and if any individual, dissatisfied with the decision passed on his case, appealed to the Governor or *diwán*, or to the *kazi* of the *súba*, the matter was reviewed, and judgment awarded with great care and discrimination, lest it should be mentioned in the presence of the King that justice had not been done. If parties were not

satisfied even with these decisions, they appealed to the chief *díwán*, or to the chief *kází* on matters of law These officers instituted further inquiries With all this care, what cases, except those relating to blood and religion, could become subjects of reference to His Majesty?

LXXII

'ÁLAMGÍR-NÁMA

OF

MUHAMMAD KÁZIM

THIS work was written 1688 A D by Mirzá Muhammad Kázim, son of Muhammad Amín Munshí, the author of the *Pádsháh-nama*, previously noticed as No LXI. It contains a history of the first ten years of the reign of 'Álamgír Aurangzeb It was dedicated to Aurangzeb in the thirty-second year of his reign, but on its being presented, the Emperor forbad its continuation, and, like another Alexander, *edicto vetuit ne quis se pingeret*, but not for the same reason. The Mughal Emperor professed as the cause of his prohibition that the cultivation of inward piety was preferable to the ostentatious display of his achievements. Elphinstone observes of this strange prohibition that the Emperor not only discontinued the regular annals of the empire, which had before been kept by a regular historiographer, but so effectually put a stop to all records of his transactions, that from the eleventh year of his reign the course of events can only be traced through the means of letters on business and of notes taken clandestinely by private individuals [1]

This prohibition is the more extraordinary from its inconsistency with orders previously issued for the preparation of the *'A'lamgír-náma*. The Preface of that work shows not only the encouragement which the author received in the prosecution of his work, but also the little reliance that can be reposed in the narrative when any subject is mentioned likely to affect

[1] [See more upon this point in the article on the *Muntakhabu-l Lubáb* of Kháfí Khán, post, No LXXIX]

the personal character of the monarch. It is much the same with nearly all the histories written by contemporaries, which are filled with the most nauseous panegyrics, and

With titles blown from adulation

The historian was to submit his pages to the interested scrutiny of the Emperor himself, and to be guided in doubtful questions by information graciously given by the monarch respecting what account was to be rejected or admitted. As the royal listener was not likely to criminate himself, we must bear perpetually in mind that such histories are mere one-sided accounts, and not to be received with implicit reliance

After an encomium of the powers of eloquence, the author says that it was solely owing to the reputed charms of his style that he was introduced to the great monarch 'Álamgír, and, after a long obscurity, was suddenly raised from insignificance to the high situation of His Majesty's *munshi* in the year of the coronation His style being approved by the King, he was ordered to collect information about all the extraordinary events in which the King had been concerned, and accounts of the bright conquests which he had effected, into a book, and accordingly an order was given to the officers in charge of the Royal Records to make over to the author all such papers as were received from the news-writers and other high functionaries of the different countries concerning the great events, the monthly and yearly registers of all kinds of accidents and marvels, and the descriptions of the different *subas* and countries

The author was further instructed, that if there were any such particulars as were omitted in any of the above papers, or not witnessed by himself, he should make inquiries regarding them from such trustworthy officers as followed the royal camp, who would relate the exact circumstances; and if there were anything which particularly required the explanation of His Majesty, the author was graciously permitted the liberty of making inquiry from the King himself

He was also ordered to attend on His Majesty on proper occasions, to read over whatever he had collected, and had written from the above authorities, and to have His Majesty's corrections incorporated. It is to be regretted that Aurangzeb did not here again imitate the example of Alexander, of whom Lucian gives an anecdote which shows that conqueror to have been less compliant with his flattering historians "Aristobulus, after he had written an account of the single combat between Alexander and Porus, showed that monarch a particular part of it, wherein, the better to get into his good graces, he had inserted a great deal more than was true when Alexander seized the book and threw it (for they happened at that time to be sailing on the Hydaspes) directly into the river 'Thus,' said he, 'ought you to have been served yourself, for pretending to describe my battles, and killing half a dozen elephants for me with a spear'"

The value of the Royal Records may be known from the narrative of an English traveller who visited the Court in A D 1609 Captain Hawkins says, "During the time that he drinks his six cups of strong liquor, he says and does many idle things, yet whatever he says or does, whether drunk or sober, there are writers who attend him in rotation, who set many things down in writing; so that not a single incident of his life but is recorded, even his going to the necessary and when he lies with his wives. The purpose of all this is that when he dies all his actions and speeches worthy of being recorded may be inserted in the chronicles of his reign."

"As the history regarding His Majesty's birth and minority up to the time of his ascending the throne has already," says our author, "been fully detailed in the book called *Badsháh-nama*, it was at first resolved that this book should begin with the accounts of His Majesty's return from the Dakhin towards his capital (which took place in 1068 A.H , 1657 A D), and it will contain an account of the undertakings and conquests achieved by His Majesty during the period of eighteen years. But the author subsequently thought of writing, in an Introduction, a

brief account of the King's minority, because it was replete with wonderful events, and because many conquests were effected during that period It accordingly commences with Dárá Shukoh's assumption of authority upon the illness of his father Sháh Jahán, and the means employed by Aurangzeb to cut off his brothers and obtain the Imperial Crown

[The style in which this work is written is quite in accord with the courtly panegyrical character of the book. It is strained, verbose, and tedious, fulsome in its flattery, abusive in its censure Laudatory epithets are heaped one upon another in praise of Aurangzeb, while his unfortunate brothers are not only sneered at and abused, but their very names are perverted Dárá Shukoh is repeatedly called *Be-Shukoh*, "the undignified," and Shujá' is called *Ná-shuja'*, "the unvaliant" The work seems to have obtained no great reputation in India. "Subsequent authors," says Colonel Lees "do not express any very decided opinion upon the qualifications of Muhammad Kázim as an historian The author of the *Mir-atu-l 'A'lam*, however, speaks of him as an author of great erudition, the author of the *Ma-asiru-l 'Alamgiri* has made an abridgment of his work the first portion of his history, and Kháfi Khán, the author of the *Muntakhabu-l Lubab*, has made the *'Alamgir-nama* a chief authority," though he occasionally controverts its statements It is well that the book has been so well worked up by later writers, for a close translation of it into English would be quite unreadable. A few passages have been translated by the Editor, but in them it has been necessary to prune away a good deal of the author's exuberance of language and metaphor]

The history of the conquest of Assam has been translated from this work by Mr Vansittart, in the "Asiatic Miscellany," vol i, and in "Asiatic Researches," vol ii [The whole of the original work has been printed in the "Bibliotheca Indica," and occupies more than 1100 pages]

EXTRACTS

Illness of Sháh Jahán.

[On the 8th Zí-l hijja, 1067 A.H. (8th September 1657), the Emperor Sháh Jahán was seized with illness at Dehlí. His illness lasted for a long time, and every day he grew weaker, so that he was unable to attend to the business of the State Irregularities of all sorts occurred in the administration, and great disturbances arose in the wide territories of Hindústán The unworthy and frivolous Dárá Shukoh considered himself heir-apparent, and notwithstanding his want of ability for the kingly office, he endeavoured with the scissors of greediness to cut the robes of the Imperial dignity into a shape suited for his unworthy person[1] With this over-weening ambition constantly in his mind, and in pursuit of his vain design, he never left the seat of government. When the Emperor fell ill and was unable to attend to business, Dárá Shukoh took the opportunity of seizing the reins of power, and interfered with everything He closed the roads against the spread of news, and seized letters addressed to individuals He forbade the officers of government to write or send any intelligence to the provinces, and upon the mere suspicion of their having done so, he seized and imprisoned them The royal princes, the great nobles, and all the men who were scattered through the provinces and territories of this great empire, many even of the officials and servants who were employed at the capital, had no expectation that the Emperor would live much longer. So great disorders arose in the affairs of the State Disaffected and rebellious men raised their heads in mutiny and strife on every side. Turbulent *raiyats* refused to pay their revenue The seed of rebellion was sown in all directions, and by degrees the evil reached to such a height that in Gujarát Murád Bakhsh took his seat upon the throne, had the *khutba* read and coins struck in his name, and assumed the title of

[1] [Passages like this frequently occur, but after this they have been turned into plain language in the translation.]

King. Shujá' took the same course in Bengal, led an army against Patna, and from thence advanced to Benares.]

Heresy of Dárá Shukoh.

[Dárá Shukoh in his later days did not restrain himself to the free-thinking and heretical notions which he had adopted under the name of *tasawwuf* (Sufiism), but showed an inclination for the religion and institutions of the Hindús. He was constantly in the society of *Bráhmans*, *Jogís* and *Sannyásís*, and he used to regard these worthless teachers of delusions as learned and true masters of wisdom. He considered their books which they call *Bed* as being the Word of God, and revealed from heaven, and he called them ancient and excellent books. He was under such delusion about this *Bed*, that he collected *Bráhmans* and *Sannyásís* from all parts of the country, and paying them great respect and attention, he employed them in translating the *Bed* He spent all his time in this unholy work, and devoted all his attention to the contents of these wretched books Instead of the sacred name of God, he adopted the Hindú name *Prabhu* (lord), which the Hindús consider holy, and he had this name engraved in Hindí letters upon rings of diamond, ruby, emerald, etc. * * Through these perverted opinions he had given up the prayers, fasting and other obligations imposed by the law * * It became manifest that if Dárá Shukoh obtained the throne and established his power, the foundations of the faith would be in danger and the precepts of Islám would be changed for the rant of infidelity and Judaism]

Mír Jumla Mu'azzam Khán

[After the conquest of Zafarábád and Kalyán, and the return of Aurangzeb from Bíjápúr, where he had failed in obtaining full success, through the opposition and malevolence of Dárá Shukoh, he left *'Umdatu-s Saltanatu-l Káhira* Mu'azzam Khán, with a part of the Imperial army, in the vicinity of Bíjápúr, to realize a sum of a hundred *lacs* of rupees as tribute from 'Ádil Khán, by

the promise of which the retreat of Aurangzeb had been obtained The intrigues of Dárá Shukoh, who did his best to defeat this arrangement, and the mischievous disturbing letters which he sent to 'Ádil Khán and his nobles, brought this desirable settlement to nought. His Majesty Sháh Jahán, who at that time took no very active part in the affairs of government, was influenced by the urgent representations of that weak-minded (Dárá Shukoh), and summoned Mu'azzam Khán to court. In obedience to this order, the Khán marched with the force under his command to Aurangábád, intending to proceed from thence to the capital This movement at such a time seemed injurious to the State, and encouraging to the turbulence of the Dakhinís Mu'azzam Khán had no sinister object in proceeding to the capital, but Aurangzeb, as a matter of prudence and of State policy, made him prisoner and detained him in the Dakhin When Dárá Shukoh obtained information of this arrest, his malignity and jealousy led him to persuade the Emperor that it was all a trick and conspiracy between the Khán and Aurangzeb By this he so worked upon the feelings and fears of the Emperor that he roused his suspicions against Muhammad Amín Khán, son of Mu'azzam Khán, who then held the office of *Mír Bakhshi* at Court, and obtained permission to secure his person Accordingly Dárá Shukoh summoned Muhammad Amín to his house and made him prisoner After he had been in confinement three or four days, intelligence of the true state of the case and of the innocence of Muhammad Amín reached the Emperor, and he, being satisfied of the facts, released Muhammad Amín from durance]

Illness of the Emperor Aurangzeb.

[On the night of the 12th Rajab (in the eighth year of his reign), the Emperor was suddenly attacked with strangury, and suffered great pain until the following morning * * The skill and attention of his physicians had their effect, * * and in a few days he recovered]

LXXIII

MA-ÁSIR-I 'ÁLAMGÍRÍ

OF

MUHAMMAD SÁKÍ MUSTA'IDD KHÁN

This is a history of the reign of 'Álamgír (Aurangzeb). The first ten years is an abridgment of the work last noticed, the *'A'lamgír-náma*; the continuation till the death of Aurangzeb in A.D. 1707 is an original composition. It was written by Muhammad Sákí Musta'idd Khán, *munshi* to 'Ináyatu-lla Khán, *wazír* of Bahádur Sháh. He had been a constant follower of the Court for forty years, and an eye-witness of many of the transactions he records. He undertook the work by desire of his patron, and finished it in A.D. 1710, only three years after the death of Aurangzeb. [Kháfí Khán, in his *Muntakhabu-l Lubab*, informs us that "after the expiration of ten years (of Aurangzeb's reign) authors were forbidden from writing the events of that just and righteous Emperor's reign, nevertheless some competent persons (did so), and particularly Musta'idd Khán, who secretly wrote an abridged account of the campaign in the Dakhin, simply detailing the conquests of the countries and forts, without alluding at all to the misfortunes of the campaign."[1]]

The *Ma-asir-i 'Alamgiri* contains two Books and a short Appendix.

Book I.—An abridgment of Mirzá Muhammad Kázim's history of the first ten years of the Emperor's reign and the events preceding his accession.

Book II.—The events of the last forty years of the Emperor's reign, with an account of his death.

[1] [Col. Lees, Journ. R.A.S., N.S. vol. iii. p. 473.]

Appendix.—Several anecdotes of the Emperor, which could not be included in the history, and a minute account of the Royal family.

The history is written in the form of annals, each year being distinctly marked off.

Stewart, in his "Descriptive Catalogue," observes of the writer of this work, that "although his style be too concise, I have never met in any other author with the relation of an event of this reign which is not recorded in this history"

It is differently spoken of by the author of the "Critical Essay," who shows a discrimination rarely to be met with in Indian critics. The omissions he complains of will not appear of much importance to a European reader

"Muhammad Sákí Musta'idd Khán, who composed the chronicle named *Ma-ásir-i 'A'lamgiri*, has not by any means rendered his work complete; for he has omitted to record several matters of considerable importance Thus, he has not mentioned the dignities and offices of honour accorded to Royal princes, and their successive appointments to different situations, such as might best qualify them for managing the affairs of government. Some he has noticed, but he has omitted others Neither has he informed us in what year the illustrious Sháh 'A'lam Bahádur Sháh (now gone to the abode of felicity) and Muhammad 'A'zam Sháh were invested with the high rank of *Chihal-hazari* (40,000), and of many other circumstances relating to these two princes, some are mentioned, and many have been altogether unnoticed In the same manner also he has treated of other Royal princes.

"Respecting likewise the chief nobles and their removals from different offices or appointments and dignities, some are mentioned, but several are omitted, thus he has neglected to notice the dates and various circumstances of the appointment of *Haft-hazari* (7000) of Ghází'u-d dín Khán Bahádur Fíroz Jang, and the *Shash-hazari* (6000) of Zulfikár Khán Bahádur Nusrat Jang, two distinguished generals

"On the other hand, he relates with minute precision some very

trifling occurrences little worthy of being recorded in history, and by no means interesting, such as particulars concerning chapels or places of prayer, the merits of different preachers and similar topics, which had been subjects of discussion among his intimate companions On this account his work is not held in high estimation among those learned men who know how to appreciate historical compositions "

[This verdict of a native critic is worthy of record, although it cannot be accepted Muhammad Sákí has a style of his own which is not difficult, and yet has some pretensions to elegance The early part of the work is little better than a Court Circular or London Gazette, being occupied almost exclusively with the private matters of the royal family, and the promotions, appointments, and removals of the officers of government Farther on he enters more fully into matters of historical record, and gives details of Aurangzeb's campaign in the Dakhin, and his many sieges of forts.]

The work was edited and translated into English by Henry Vansittart in 1785, and published in a quarto volume [The complete text has been printed in the Bibliotheca Indica, and fills 541 pages A *translation of the last 40 years, Muhammad* Sákí's own portion of the work, was made for Sir H. Elliot by "Lieut Perkins, 71st N I," and from that translation the following Extracts have been taken.]

EXTRACTS

Earthquake.

[Text, p. 73.] On the 1st Zí-l hijja, 1078 A H (3rd May, 1668), the intelligence arrived from Thatta that the town of Samáji had been destroyed by an earthquake, thirty thousand houses were thrown down.

Prohibition of Hindú Teaching and Worship.

[Text, p 81] On the 17th Zí-l ka'da, 1079 (18th April, 1669), it reached the ear of His Majesty, the protector of the

faith, that in the provinces of Thatta, Multán, and Benares, but especially in the latter, foolish Bráhmans were in the habit of expounding frivolous books in their schools, and that students and learners, Musulmáns as well as Hindús, went there, even from long distances, led by a desire to become acquainted with the wicked sciences they taught The "Director of the Faith" consequently issued orders to all the governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels, and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatrous forms of worship On the 15th Rabí'u-l ákhir it was reported to his religious Majesty, leader of the unitarians, that, in obedience to order, the Government officers had destroyed the temple of Bishnáth at Benares

[Text, p. 95] In the month of Ramazán, 1080 A H. (December, 1669), in the thirteenth year of the reign, this justice-loving monarch, the constant enemy of tyrants, commanded the destruction of the Hindú temple of Mathura or Mattra, known by the name of Dehra Késú Rái, and soon that stronghold of falsehood was levelled with the ground On the same spot was laid, at great expense, the foundation of a vast mosque The den of iniquity thus destroyed owed its erection to Nar Singh Deo Bundela, an ignorant and depraved man Jahángír, before he ascended the throne, was at one time, for various reasons, much displeased with Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, and the above-mentioned Hindú, in order to compass the Shaikh's death, affected great devotion to the Prince As a reward for his services, he obtained from the Prince become King permission to construct the Mattra temple Thirty-three *lacs* were expended on this work. Glory be to God, who has given us the faith of Islám, that, in this reign of the destroyer of false gods, an undertaking so difficult of accomplishment[1] has been brought to a successful termination! This vigorous support given to the true faith was a severe blow to the arrogance of the Rájas, and, like idols, they turned their faces awe-struck to the wall The

[1] Alluding to the destruction of the Hindú temple

richly-jewelled idols taken from the pagan temples were transferred to Ágra, and there placed beneath the steps leading to the Nawáb Begam Sáhib's mosque, in order that they might ever be pressed under foot by the true believers. Mattra changed its name into Islámábád, and was thus called in all official documents, as well as by the people

[Text, p. 100] In Shawwál information reached the King that Sháh-záda Muhammad Mu'azzam, under the influence of his passions, and misled by pernicious associates and flatterers, had, notwithstanding his excellent understanding, become imbued with a spirit of insubordination Prompted by his natural benevolence, His Majesty wrote several letters replete with advice to the Prince, but this alone did not satisfy him—the Nawáb Rái, the Prince's mother, was sent for to go to her son, and lead him back into the right path if any symptom of rebellion should appear in him Iftikhár Khán Khán-zámán, a wise and discreet man, was directed to repair to the Prince, charged with much beneficial advice He soon reached his destination, and delivered himself of the King's messages Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was a fountain of candour, there was moreover no truth in the report, so his only answer was to bow his head in submission He wrote to his father letters expressive of humility and shame Unwilling to ever transgress the obedience due to his King and to his God, he insured himself happiness in both worlds The King, slow to anger and prompt to forgive, lavished presents and kind words on his son

Fifteenth Year of the Reign

Outbreak of the Satnámis—also called Mondihs.[1]

[Text, p 114.] It is cause for wonder that a gang of bloody, miserable rebels, goldsmiths, carpenters, sweepers, tanners, and other ignoble beings, braggarts and fools of all descriptions,

[1] [Khafi Khán shortens the first vowel and calls them *Mundihs*—see post]

should become so puffed up with vain-glory as to cast themselves headlong into the pit of self-destruction This is how it came to pass A malignant set of people, inhabitants of Mewát, collected suddenly as white ants spring from the ground, or locusts descend from the skies It is affirmed that these people considered themselves immortal, seventy lives was the reward promised to every one of them who fell in action. A body of about 5000 had collected in the neighbourhood of Nárnaul, and were in open rebellion Cities and districts were plundered Táhir Khán Faujdár, considering himself not strong enough to oppose them, repaired to the presence The King resolved to exterminate the insurgents Accordingly, on the 26th of Zí-l ka'da, an order was issued that Ra'd-andáz Khán should proceed with his artillery, Hámid Khán with the guards and 500 of the horsemen belonging to Saiyid Murtazá Khán, his father, and Yahyá Khán Rúmí, Najíb Khán, Rúmí Khán, Kamálu-d dín, son of Diler Khán, Purdil, son of Fíroz Khán Mewátí, and Isfandyár, *bakhshi* to Prince Muhammad Akbar, with their own troops, to effect the destruction of the unbelievers The royal forces marched to the encounter, the insurgents showed a bold front, and, although totally unprovided with the implements of war, made good use of what arms they had They fought with all the valour of former rebels whose deeds are recorded in history, and the people of Hind have called this battle *Maha-bhárat*, on account of the great slaughter of elephants on that trying day The heroes of Islám charged with impetuosity, and crimsoned their sabres with the blood of these desperate men The struggle was terrible Conspicuous above all were Ra'd-andáz Khan, Hámid Khán, and Yahyá Khán Many of the Moslims were slain or wounded At length the enemy broke and fled, but were pursued with great slaughter Few indeed escaped with their lives, a complete victory crowned the efforts of the royal commanders—and those regions were cleansed of the presence of the foul unbelievers. The triumphant *gházis*, permitted to kiss the threshold, were rendered proud by the praises of their King

The title of Shujá'at Khán was conferred on Ra'd-andáz, with the rank of 3000 and 2000 horse

[Text, p 170] On the 19th Rabí'u-l ákhir, 1089 A H, a report from Shafí'a Khán, *díwán* of Bengal, made known that the *Amíru-l umará* had appropriated one *kror* and thirty-two *lacs* of rupees above his yearly salary A claim against the *amír* was accordingly ordered to be entered.

TWENTY-SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1090 A.H (1679 A D.).

[Text, p 175] On the 24th Rabí'u-l ákhir, Khán-Jahán Bahádur arrived from Jodhpúr, bringing with him several cart-loads of idols, taken from the Hindu temples that had been razed His Majesty gave him great praise. Most of these idols were adorned with precious stones, or made of gold, silver, brass, copper or stone, it was ordered that some of them should be cast away in the out-offices, and the remainder placed beneath the steps of the grand mosque, there to be trampled under foot. There they lay a long time, until, at last, not a vestige of them was left

[Text, p 176.] Rája Jaswant Singh had died at Kábul without male issue, but, after his decease, several faithful adherents—Song, Ragunáth Dás Bhátí, Ranjhúr, Durga Dás, and some others—sent information to the King of two of the wives of the late *Raja* being with child These ladies, after their arrival at Lahore, gave each of them birth to a son. This news was communicated to the King, with a request that the children should be permitted to succeed to their father's rank and possessions. His Majesty replied that the children should be sent to him to be brought up at his Court, and that rank and wealth should be given to them

[Text, p. 186] On the 12th Zí-l hijja, 1090 A.H. (6th January, 1680), Prince Muhammad 'Azam and Khán-Jahán Bahádur obtained permission to visit Udípúr. Rúhu-llah

Khán and Yakkatáz Khán also proceeded thither to effect the destruction of the temples of the idolators These edifices, situated in the vicinity of the Ráná's palace, were among the wonders of the age, and had been erected by the infidels to the ruin of their souls and the loss of their wealth It was here that some twenty Máchátor Rájpúts had resolved to die for their faith One of them slew many of his assailants before receiving his death-blow. Another followed, and another, until all had fallen, many of the faithful also being despatched before the last of these fanatics had gone to hell. The temple was now clear, and the pioneers destroyed the images

[Text, p. 188] On the 2nd of Muharram, 1091 A H (24th January, 1680), the King visited the tank of U'díságar, constructed by the Ráná His Majesty ordered all three of the Hindú temples to be levelled with the ground News was this day received that Hasan 'Alí Khán had emerged from the pass and attacked the Ráná on the 29th of Zí-l hijja The enemy had fled, leaving behind them their tents and baggage The enormous quantity of grain captured in this affair had created abundance amongst the troops

On the 7th Muharram Hasan 'Alí Khán made his appearance with twenty camels taken from the Ráná, and stated that the temple situated near the palace, and one hundred and twenty-two more in the neighbouring districts, had been destroyed. This chieftain was, for his distinguished services, invested with the title of Bahádur

His Majesty proceeded to Chitor on the 1st of Safar Temples to the number of sixty-three were here demolished

Abú Turáb, who had been commissioned to effect the destruction of the idol-temples of Amber, reported in person on the 24th Rajab, that threescore and six of these edifices had been levelled with the ground

Twenty-Fourth Year of the Reign, 1091-2 A.H. (1680-81 A D).

[Text, p. 207] The Ráná had now been driven forth from his country and his home. The victorious *ghásis* had struck many a blow, and the heroes of Islám had trampled under their chargers' hoofs the land which this reptile of the jungles and his predecessors had possessed for a thousand years He had been forced to fly to the very limit of his territories Unable to resist any longer, he saw no safety for himself but in seeking pardon Accordingly he threw himself on the mercy of Prince Muhammad 'Ázam, and implored his intercession with the King, offering the *parganas* of Mándil, Púr, and Badhanor in lieu of the *jizya* By this submission he was enabled to retain possession of his country and his wealth. The Prince, touched with compassion for the Ráná's forlorn state, used his influence with His Majesty, and this merciful monarch, anxious to please his son, lent a favourable ear to these propositions. An interview took place at the Ráj Sambar tank on the 17th of Jumáda-l ákhir, between the Prince and the Ráná, to whom Diler Khán and Hasan 'Alí Khán had been deputed The Ráná made an offering of 500 *ashrafis* and eighteen horses with caparisons of gold and silver, and did homage to the Prince, who desired him to sit on his left He received in return a *khil'at*, a sabre, dagger, charger and elephant His title of Ráná was acknowledged, and the rank of commander of 5000 conferred on him.

Twenty-Seventh Year of the Reign, 1094–5 A H (1683–4 A.D).

Caves of Ellora.

[Text, p. 238] Muhammad Sháh Malik Júná, son of Tughlik, selected the fort of Deogír as a central point whereat to establish the seat of government, and gave it the name of Daulatábád. He removed the inhabitants of Dehlí thither with

their wives and children, and many great and good men removed thither and were buried there. Ellora is only a short distance from this place At some very remote period a race of men, as if by magic, excavated caves (*nakkáb*) high up among the defiles of the mountains. These rooms (*khána*) extended over a breadth of one *kos*. Carvings of various designs and of correct execution adorned all the walls and ceilings, but the outside of the mountain is perfectly level, and there is no sign of any dwelling (*khána*). From the long period of time these pagans remained masters of this territory, it is reasonable to conclude, although historians differ, that to them is to be attributed the construction of these places

THIRTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1097–8 A.H (1686–7 A D)

Imprisonment of Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam.

[Text, p 293] Muhammad Mu'azzam, although a prince of great intelligence and penetration, was led by pernicious counsellors into opposition to his father's wishes, and this conduct became the source of much suffering to himself and displeasure to the ruler of the State For a long time His Majesty, loth that such conduct should become known, closed his eyes to the Prince's proceedings. During the siege of Bíjápúr some persons were caught carrying secret messages to Sikandar ('Ádil Sháh), these men were put to death Some officers also, suspected of evil intentions, Mumín Khán, commandant of artillery, 'Azíz Afghán, Multifát Khán, second *bakhshi*, and the cunning Bindrában, were expelled from the army on the 18th of Shawwál The Prince's destiny grew dark, and wisdom and foresight quite forsook him During the investment of Haidarábád he allowed himself to be deluded by some promise of Abú-l Hasan, and at last sundry written communications, which passed between the trenches and the fort of Golkonda, fell into the hands of Fíroz Jang Other proofs were also available of the Prince's treachery The Khán, that very night, laid these documents before the

King, who was now well convinced of the Prince's wilfulness, whatever doubts he might have entertained before. Hayát Khán, *dárogha* of the Prince's *díwán-khána*, was sent for and ordered to direct his master to send his troops to oppose Shaikh Nizám Haidarábádí, who was about to make a night attack on the camp Ihtimám Khán, it was said, would guard the Prince's tents during the absence of his own people This order was obeyed.

The next morning, according to order, the Prince, Mu'izzu-d dín, and Muhammad 'Azím,[1] attended the *darbár*. His Majesty, after taking his seat, told them that Asad Khán and Bahramand Khán had something to communicate to them in the chapel. No sooner had the Princes entered this place than their arms were taken from them. As soon as a tent could be pitched, they were removed into it His Majesty withdrew to the seraglio by the private entrance, and there, wringing his hands, and with many symptoms of grief, he exclaimed that the labour of forty years had fallen to the ground!

Guards were placed round the tent, under the orders of Ihtimám Khán *Mutasaddís* seized all the Prince's property, which, however, was but as a drop of water in the ocean Ihtimám was invested with the title of Sardár Khán, and raised from the command of 1000 to that of 1500

THIRTY-FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1102–3 A H (1691–2 A D).

Release of Muhammad Mu'azzam from Confinement.

[Text, p. 341] Neither the Prince nor his sons had been, when first confined, permitted even to unbind the hair of their heads. This treatment lasted six months Khidmat Khán, *Nazir*, emboldened by his long service under this King and under his father, remonstrated most vehemently against this severity (no other dared to speak in the Prince's favour), and His Majesty relented As time wore on, the King's wrath grew less, his paternal feel-

[1] [More commonly called Muhammad 'Azam]

ings resumed their sway, and he daily sent his blessing by Sardár Khan to this second Joseph, imprisoned like Jonas, desiring him to be satisfied with this much until the Father of all Mercies moved his heart to put an end to his sufferings Strange to relate, Sardár Khán one day told the King that His Majesty could order the Prince's release when he thought fit so to do. "True," replied the King, "but Providence has made me ruler of the habitable world The oppressed appeals to me against his oppressor, and expects redress. This son of mine has endured some hardships at my hands, in expiation of certain worldly offences, but the hour has not yet come for me to release him, his only hope is in God Let him therefore be hopeful, so that he may not lose all hope in me, nor appeal against me to God, for should he do so, what refuge would be left to me?"

Fate had decreed that Muhammad Mu'azzam should adorn the throne, wherefore the King, that personification of all virtues, resolved to draw the Prince from the state in which he had been kept, and let his light shine on the people That his mind might not bow down under the weight of grief, the rigours of confinement were gradually made less On one occasion, when the King marched from Badrí, all the tents were ordered to be left standing for the Prince's recreation He was permitted to wander from one to the other, enjoying the luxuries each different place afforded, and refreshing body and mind The Prince observed to the officers who had charge of him that he longed to behold His Majesty, and that the sight of such places could not satisfy that wish At length, when the news of the Prince's mother having died in the capital was received, His Majesty caused a tent of communication to be pitched between the *diwan-i khas* and the Prince's tent, where the monarch repaired in person with the virtuous Princess Zínatu-n Nisá Begam, and offered the usual consolations

Some time after this, on the 4th of Zí-l ka'da, Mu'azzam had the honour of paying his respects to the King, who desired him to perform his mid-day prayers in his presence. When His

Majesty went to the mosque on Fridays, the Prince was to pray in the private chapel. Permission was also granted him to visit occasionally the baths in the fort; at other times he might wander among the parterres and tanks of the Sháhábád gardens Thus by degrees was broken the barrier between father and son Khwája Daulat received orders to fetch the Prince's family from the capital [1]

Fifty-first Year of the Reign.

Death of Aurangzeb

[Text, p 519] After the conclusion of the holy wars which rescued the countries of the Dakhin from the dominion of the pagans, the army encamped at Ahmadnagar on the 16th of Shawwál, in the 50th year of the reign A year after this, at the end of Shawwál, in the 51st year of the reign, the King fell ill, and consternation spread among people of all ranks, but, by the blessing of Providence, His Majesty recovered his health in a short time, and once more resumed the administration of affairs About this time the noble Sháh ('Álam) was appointed governor of the province of Málwá, and Prince Kám Bakhsh governor of that of Bíjápúr Only four or five days had elapsed after the departure of their royal highnesses, when the King was seized with a burning fever, which continued unabated for three days Still His Majesty did not relax in his devotions, every ordinance of religion was strictly kept On the evening of Thursday, His Majesty perused a petition from Hámidu-d dín Khán, who stated that he had devoted the sum of 4000 rupees, the price of an elephant, as a propitiatory sacrifice, and begged to be permitted to make over this amount to the Kází Mullá Haidar for distribution The King granted the request, and, though weak and suffering, wrote with his own hand on the

[1] [From subsequent passages it appears that the Prince was reinstated in his seat on the Emperor's right hand in the thirty-ninth year, and was presented to the government of Kabúl in the forty-second year]

petition that it was his earnest wish that this sacrifice should lead to a speedy dissolution of his mortal frame.

On the morning of Friday, 28th of Zí-l ka'da (1118 A H 21st February, 1707 A D), His Majesty performed the consecrated prayers, and, at their conclusion, returned to the sleeping apartments, where he remained absorbed in contemplation of the Deity. Faintness came on, and the soul of the aged monarch hovered on the verge of eternity Still, in this dread hour, the force of habit prevailed, and the fingers of the dying King continued mechanically to tell the beads of the rosary they held A quarter of the day later the King breathed his last, and thus was fulfilled his wish to die on a Friday Great was the grief among all classes of people for the King's death. The shafts of adversity had demolished the edifice of their hopes, and the night of sorrow darkened the joyful noonday Holy men prepared to perform the funeral rites, and kept the corpse in the sleeping apartment pending the arrival of Prince Muhammad A'zam, who was away a distance of five-and-twenty *kos* from the camp The Prince arrived the following day, and it is impossible to describe the grief that was depicted on his countenance, never had anything like it been beheld On Monday he assisted in carrying the corpse through the hall of justice, whence the procession went on without him May none ever experience the anguish he felt! People sympathized with the Prince's sorrow, and shed torrents of tears Such and so deeply-felt were the lamentations for a monarch whose genius only equalled his piety, whose equal the world did not contain, but whose luminous countenance was now hidden from his loving people!

According to the will of the deceased King, his mortal remains were deposited in the tomb constructed during his lifetime near the shrine of the holy Shaikh Zainu-d dín (on whom God have mercy!) "Earth was consigned to earth, but the pure soul survived." This place of sepulture, known by the name of Khuldábád, is distant eight *kos* from Khujista-bunyád (Aurangábád), and

three *kos* from Daulatábád. A red stone three yards in length, two in width, and only a few inches in depth, is placed above the tomb In this stone was hollowed out, in the shape of an amulet, a cavity for the reception of earth and seeds, and odoriferous herbs there diffuse their fragrance around

Account of the late King's Family.

[Text, p 533.] God had given unto 'Álamgír five sons and five daughters, born of different mothers, and all learned in spiritual and worldly matters. Mention has already been made of them, it now remains to give a short notice of each.

The first son was Muhammad Sultán, born of the Nawáb Báí, on the 4th of Ramazán, in the year 1049 A H (14th November, 1639 A D) His manners were agreeable, he knew the Kurán by heart, and was well acquainted with the Arabic, Turkish and Persian languages His valour was great This Prince died in the 21st year of the reign

The second son, Muhammad Mu'azzam Shah 'Álam Bahádur, was born of the same Nawáb Báí, in the end of Rajab, 1053 A H (September, 1643 A D). While still a boy he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Kurán, and of the science of reading When so engaged, his voice is pleasing and melodious So great is his knowledge of law and of the traditionary sayings of the Prophet, that he is held by all the learned men of the day to be unequalled in this accomplishment He is deeply read in Arabic, and the fluency and elegance of his diction are the wonder of the very Kurán-readers of Arabia He knows many sorts of writing, is careful of his time, and a protector of the poor

Prince Muhammad A'zam, the third son, was born of Dilras Bánú Begam, daughter of Sháh Nawáz Khán Safawí, on the 12th of Sha'bán, in the year 1063 (28th June, 1653) He was distinguished for his wisdom and excellence. He excelled in many ways, and his innate virtues and sagacity rendered him the indispensable companion of the late King. His death occurred

on the 18th of Rabí'u-l awwal, only three months and twenty days after that of his royal parent. It was marked by deeds of valour

The next son, Prince Akbar, was born of Begam,[1] on the 12th of Zí-l hijja, in the year 1067 (12th September, 1656 A D). He fled from his father, and passed his life in Persia He died in the 48th year of the reign, but there are two reasons for supposing that his end was a happy one In the first place, the King remarked that Prince Akbar had always performed his Friday prayers most devoutly, and secondly, his mortal remains lie in the area of the tomb of Imám Rizá (on whom be blessings and praise !)

Muhammad Kám Bakhsh, the fifth and last son, was born on the 10th of Ramazán, in the year 1077 (25th February, 1667) His mother was Báí Udípúrí His father instructed him in the word of God, and his knowledge of all known works surpassed that of his brothers The Turkish language and several modes of writing were familiar to him He was brave and generous The death of this Prince took place two years after that of his father

Account of the Daughters.

Zebu-n Nisá Begam was the eldest of the daughters She was born of Begam[1] on the 10th of Shawwál, in the year 1048 (5th February, 1639) Owing to the King's teaching, she became thoroughly proficient in knowledge of the Kurán, and received as a reward the sum of 30,000 *ashrafis*. Her learning extended to Arabic, Persian, to the various modes of writing, and to prose and poetry. Many learned men, poets and writers were employed by her, and numerous compilations and original works are dedicated to her. One of these, a translation of the *Tafsír-i Kabír*, called *Zebu-t Tafásír*, was the work of Mullá Safí'u-d dín Ardbelí, attached to the service of this Princess. Her death occurred in the year 1113 (1701 A D.).

[1] The name is not given

The second daughter was Zínatu-n Nisá Begam. She was born on the 1st Sha'bán, in the year 1053 (9th October, 1643 A D) This Princess is remarkable for her great piety and extreme liberality.

Badru-n Nisá Begam, the third in order, was born of the Nawáb Báí on the 29th Shawwál, in the year 1057 (17th November, 1647 A D) She knew the Kurán by heart, was pious and virtuous Her demise took place on the 27th Zí-l ka'da in the 13th year of the reign.

The fourth daughter, Zubdatu-n Nisá Begam, was born on the 26th Ramazán, in the year 1061 (1st September, 1651 A D). Her mother was Begam This Princess was ever engaged in worship, prayer, and pious works. She was wedded to Sipihr Shukoh, son of Dárá Shukoh She went to Paradise in the same month as her father, to whom her death was not made known

Mihru-n Nisá Begam, the fifth daughter, was born of Aurangábádí Mahal on the 3rd of Safar, in the year 1072 (13th September, 1661). She became the spouse of Í'zad Bakhsh, son of Murád Bakhsh, and lived until the year 1116.

LXXIV

FUTUHÁT-I 'ÁLAMGÍRÍ

OF

MUHAMMAD MA'SÚM

[THIS book of "the Victories of Aurangzeb" would seem also to be known as *Wakı'át-i 'A'lamgírí* There is a translation of the Preface and of the Table of Contents among Sir H M. Elliot's papers From the Preface it appears that the author was Muhammad Ma'súm, son of Sálih He was employed in the service of Sultán Shujá', Aurangzeb's brother, "whose generosity is equal to that of the sun" Having obtained a few months' leave of absence, he, with much hesitation and diffidence, determined, as he says, "to write the events of these two or three years, which I have witnessed myself or have heard from others" The Table of Contents gives 55 Chapters The first relates to Sháh Jahán's conquest of Balkh and Badakhshán Chapter 52 "relates the murder of Dárá Shukoh by the orders of Aurangzeb in the garden of Khizrábád, by the hands of Sháh Nazar *Chela*, and of the burial of his remains in the mausoleum of Humáyún, which is the burial-place of all the murdered princes of this house." Chapter 55 gives the remaining account of Sháh Shujá' and Mu'azzam Khán The translator adds "The history is not complete, and it is not known whether the author had written only thus far, or whether the scribe had no time to copy further" As it professes to be only the history of two or three years, it is probably complete There is, according to Dr Bird, another work bearing this title written by Srí Dás, a Nágar Brahman of Gujarát "The author was a spectator of the occurrences he details, and was in the service of Shaikhu-l Islám, the son of 'Abdu-l Wahháb Ahmadábádí This work is very rare"[1]]

[1] Bird's *Gujarát*, p 89

LXXV

TÁRÍKH-I MULK-I ÁSHÁM

OF

SHAHÁBU-D DÍN TÁLÁSH

[THIS is an account of the expedition to Assam undertaken in the fourth year of the reign of Aurangzeb, by Mu'azzam Khán Khán-khánán The author was Mauláná Ahmad Shahábu-d dín Tálásh It is a small work, and is noticed in Stewart's Catalogue[1] There are some Extracts of the work among Sir H M Elliot's papers, and there is a copy in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal]

[1] See *Journ des Savants*, 1846, p 702

LXXVI

WAKÁI'
OF
NI'AMAT KHÁN

[THIS is the work of the celebrated wit and satirist, Mirzá Muhammad Ni'amat Khán, whose poetical sobriquet was 'Álí His writings are much valued in India for the excellence of the style, which is highly florid, but it is very obscure, and is more pregnant with metaphor than meaning The author was appointed to the office of news-writer by Aurangzeb, and the *Wakai'* is especially devoted to the history of the siege and conquest of Golkonda The *Makhzanu-l Gharaib* states that his ancestors were physicians of Shíráz, but that he was brought up in Hindústán He was appointed by Aurangzeb to the *mansab* of *bakáwali,* with the title of Ni'amat Khán, but he was ungrateful to his patron and satirized him. At length, from improper conduct, he fell into disgrace. "His verses and *ghazals* are not excellent, but his satire is pleasant and pungent" It appears that he had some knowledge of medicine The *Tárikh-i Chaghatái* also speaks of his strong powers of satire, and states that he received the title of Dánishmand Khán in the first year of the reign of Bahádur Sháh. He afterwards wrote a *Sháh-náma,* and died at Dehlí in 1122 A H (1710 A.D), in the 4th year of Bahádur Sháh, or according to another authority, two years earlier. The author is the person referred to in the following passage from "The Critical Essay" "Mirzá Muhammad, generally called Ni'amat Khán Hájí, was an eminent personage, who obtained the title of Dánishmand Khán, and he has recorded

the events of that monarch's (Aurangzeb's) reign as far as the third year. Although his work is written in a very pleasing style, yet it occasionally offends the reader's delicacy by indecent jests and coarse witticisms, in which the author was too much accustomed to indulge" In the Catalogue of Jonathan Scott's library, the *Wakái'* is said to be a most curious work, exhibiting anecdotes of private character in a humorous and entertaining style; but, says Sir H M Elliot, "I conceive that allusion must be made to the *Muzhakát*, which has been lithographed at Lucknow in the same volume as the author's *Ruka'át*" The *Wakai'* has been printed at Bombay in a volume of 319 pages It was also published at Lucknow in 1843 The Editor of this edition, after lauding the author in the Preface, says that "the work contains very difficult and complicated passages not suited to the comprehension of common people, so, with great pains and diligent research in Persian and Arabic dictionaries, he has supplied marginal notes, turning the most difficult passages into a smooth and easy style"

There is an abstract of a portion of this work among the papers, but it is a short dry summary of no value, either as a specimen of the work, or as a contribution to history [1]]

[1] [This article has been compiled from Sir H M Elliot's rough sketch and from Persian notes and extracts collected by him]

LXXVII

JANG-NÁMA

OF

NI'AMAT KHÁN 'ÁLÍ

[THIS "Book of War" is another production of Ni'amat Khán or Dánishmand Khán, the writer of the last-noticed work. An abstract of the work prepared for Sir H. M. Elliot shows that it begins with the war carried on by Aurangzeb against the Ráná of Údípúr, and ends with the accession of Bahádur Sháh. The struggle which followed the death of Aurangzeb occupies a considerable portion of the work. A lithographed edition of the work was printed at Lucknow in 1261 A.H. (1845 A.D.).]

LXXVIII

RUKA'ÁT-I 'ÁLAMGÍRÍ

OF

THE EMPEROR AURANGZEB.

These letters exhibit the private life and sentiments of this Prince, so they should be allowed a place in his history. The following account is given of them by Elphinstone in his History (p 673)

"There are three collections of his letters First, the *Kalimat-i Taiyibat*, published by one of his chief secretaries, 'Ináyatu-llah, second, the *Rakaim-i Kara'im* by the son of another secretary, and third, the *Dastúru-l 'Aml A'gáhi* collected from all quarters thirty-eight years after his death The first two collections profess to be merely the rough drafts or notes which he wrote with his own hand for his secretaries Most of the third collection have the same appearance They are without dates or order, and are often obscure, from their brevity, and our ignorance of the subjects alluded to"

One set was indifferently translated many years ago by Mr Eales in Calcutta, and a few Extracts have been published in the Asiatic Annual Register, vol. iii

Instead of three sets of these letters, there appears to be more than four.

The first of them has the following passage in the Preface "Be it known to all learned men, that this book named *Ruka'át-i 'A'lamgír*, and surnamed *Kalimat-i Taiyibát*, has been compiled from the epistles written by Muhíu-d dín Muhammad Aurangzeb, King of Hindústán The expression *Muhin púr khiláfat wa Farzand Sa'adat tawam* has been used in this book for the eldest

son of the King, Sultán Muhammad Mu'azzam, surnamed Sháh 'Álam. Sometimes the expression *Sa'ádat tawam* has also been applied to his second son, Sultán Muhammad A'zam Sháh, but the term *Farzand-i 'Ali Jáh* is only used for the eldest. By the term *Birádar-i ná-mihrbán* is meant the King's elder brother, Dárá Shukoh. The expressions *Farzand-záda-i 'aziz* and *Farzand-záda bahádur* are respectively intended for Muhammad Mu'izzu-d dín, the eldest son of Sháh 'Álam, and for Muhammad Bedár Bakht Bahádur, the son of Sultán Muhammad A'zam Sháh *Muhin-púr*. The words *Farzand-záda 'azimu-l kadr* are used for Muhammad 'Azímu-d dín, the second son of Sháh 'Álam. The expressions *Umdatu-l Mulk Madáru-l Muhám* and *án fidwi* are peculiar to Asad Khán, who was honoured with the title of *Amiru-l umará* after the death of Sháyista Khán. The term *Khán Firoz Jang* is the abbreviated title of Ghází'u-d dín Khán Fíroz Jang *Nusrat Jang* is the title of Zú-l Fikár Khán *Mirzá Bakhshi* is intended for Mirzá Sadru-d dín Muhammad Khán Safawí *Mir-átash* for Tarbiyat Khán, and the single word *Hamid* for Hamídu-d dín Khán"

The name of the compiler is not mentioned. This *Kalimat-i Taiyibat* has been lithographed at Lucknow in 8vo, and contains 67 pages, 17 lines to a page It is in extensive demand

The *Rakáim-i Karáim* is a somewhat smaller collection, and consists of 48 octavo pages of fifteen lines to a page It comprises letters written by the Emperor to Mír 'Abdu-l Karím Khán, father of the compiler, and out of compliment to him, the son called the collection by the name of *Rakaim-i Karaim* The following is extracted from the Preface "I Saiyid Ashraf Khán Mír Muhammad Husainí do myself the honour of collecting the epistles of the great King 'Álamgír, which were written to my father 'Abdu-l Karím Amír Khán, and of arranging them in the form of a book, which I denominate by the title of *Rakaim-i Karaim*, as that expression is in a manner connected with the name of the late 'Abdu-l Karím. I much regret the loss of most of the Emperor's epistles, which were either despatched

to their several addresses without being copied in my father's office, or were destroyed through the ignorance and carelessness of his attendants. However, those which have remained uninjured are most dear to me"

The *Dastúru-l 'Aml A'gáhi* appears from the following passage in the Introduction to have been compiled under the orders of Rája Ayá Mal "The dependents of the King 'Álamgír have collected the celebrated epistles from that monarch to the different princes and nobles, into several pamphlets, without arranging them in the form of a regular book, but at the request of Rája Ayá Mal, one of his learned servants collected the detached pamphlets into one volume in the Hijra year 1156 (1743 A D), and denominated the work *Dastúru-l 'Aml A'gáhi*. As the style of these epistles was rather difficult to be understood by every one, since the King was very fond of figurative language, the compiler takes the opportunity of giving in this Preface the real meanings of the peculiar expressions used by the King" Then follows the explanation given in the Extract from the *Kalimát-i Taiyibát*

It appears that another collection had been previously made under the same direction, and that another name is given to that collection The fourth collection is called *Ramz wa Ishárahâe 'A lamgir*, and bears the name of the compiler, of which in the case of the *Dastúru-l 'Aml wa A'gahi* we are left in ignorance "The correspondence of the Emperor 'Álamgír appears at first sight to consist of ordinary epistles, but in reality they convey the best instruction to kings, and the most useful kind of information to nobles and courtiers. They may be considered harmless friends to all, whether they love retirement or take delight in society. Originally they did not form a regular book, but at the instigation of the celebrated and learned Rája Ayá Mal, Budh Mal, surnamed Rám, collected them and formed a book in the year 1151 A.H (1738 A.D.).

There is another collection bearing the name of *A'dáb-i 'A'lamgiri*. This is composed of letters written by Aurangzeb

to his father, sons, and officers. They were collected by *Munshiu-l Mamálik* Shaikh Abú-l Fath, and were arranged and formed into a book by Sádik, entitled *Ná-tamám*, a resident of Ambála. The work is noticed in the Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection (vol ii p. 135) [There are several Extracts of this work among Sir H M. Elliot's MSS, and there is a copy in the British Museum]

LXXIX

MUNTAKHABU-L LUBÁB

OF

MUHAMMAD HÁSHIM, KHÁFÍ KHÁN

This work, which the author himself styles *Muntakhabu-l Lubáb Muhammad Sháhí*, is frequently called *Tarikh-i Khafi Khán*. It is a highly esteemed history, commencing with the Invasion of Bábar, A.D. 1519, and concluding with the fourteenth year of the reign of Muhammad Sháh It contains also an Introduction, giving an outline of the history of the Mughals and Tartars from Noah to Bábar It is chiefly valuable for containing an entire account of the reign of Aurangzeb, of which, in consequence of that Emperor's well-known prohibition, it is very difficult to obtain a full and connected history. It is, however, to that very prohibition we are indebted for one of the best and most impartial Histories of Modern India

Muhammad Háshim, also called Háshim 'Alí Khán, is better known as an author by the designation Kháfí Khán. He was a man of a good family residing at Dehlí, and he privately compiled a minute register of all the events of this reign, which he published some years after the monarch's death His father, Khwája Mír, also an historian, was an officer of high rank in the service of Murád Bakhsh, but after that Prince's confinement and murder, he passed into the employment of Aurangzeb Muhammad Háshim Khán was brought up in Aurangzeb's service, and was employed by him in political and military situations He himself gives an interesting account of a mission on which he was sent by the Viceroy of Gujarát to the English at Bombay, on which occasion, while commending them in

other respects, he accuses them of levity in laughing more than befitted the solemnity of political intercourse [He frequently speaks in his own person, reporting what he had himself seen or heard. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar, he was made a *díwán* by Nizámu-l Mulk (the first of the Nizáms of Haidarábád), and writes with interest and favour in all that concerns that chief For this reason he is sometimes designated *Nizamu-l Mulki*]

His work is a complete history of the House of Tímúr, giving first a clear and concise account of that dynasty, from the founder down to the close of Akbar's reign This portion of the work is condensed, the events having been so fully detailed by previous writers. The great body of the work is occupied with the hundred and thirty years that succeeded the death of Akbar, of which period the author states that the last fifty-three years were written from his own personal observation, and the verbal accounts of men who had watched the occurrences of the time. It is considered probable that he had composed the first half of the work before he was compelled to stop by Aurangzeb's orders, but, being anxious to bring down his history to the close of his own life, he continued his labours in secret It is represented that Muhammad Sháh was so pleased with the history that he ennobled the author with the title of Kháfí Khán, the word *kháfi* meaning "concealed" This origin of the designation is the one ascribed by all modern writers, and has been fully accredited by our English historians, but I am disposed to dispute the correctness of this story, and to consider Kháfí as a gentilitious name denoting the country whence his family sprung. Kháf, or more correctly Khwáf, is a district of Khurásán near Naishápúr, and *Khwafi* so applied is by no means unfamiliar to Asiatics Thus we have the famous doctor Shaikh Zainu-d dín Khwáfí,[1] Imám Khwáfí, the Khwáfí Saiyids, etc, and what is confirmatory of this opinion is that not only does Ghulám 'Alí Sháh style our author Muhammad Háshim the son of Khwája Mír Khwáfí, but he himself gives his father's name as Mír Khwáfí. It is not

[1] [See suprà, Vol IV p. 288]

impossible that Muhammad Sháh may have indulged in a joke upon the author's original name, and may have expressed himself in some such phrase to the effect that the author was now really Khwáfí [Mr. Morley, in his Catalogue of the MSS of the Royal Asiatic Society, adopts the former explanation, and says "From the fact of the work having been so long concealed (*kháfí*), its author received the title of Kháfí Khán" Colonel Lees, on the other hand, arrived independently at the same conclusion as Sir H M. Elliot. He shows that the patronymic Khwáfí was one in very common use, and thinks that the interpretation "concealed" "had its origin in an imperfect and somewhat ludicrous misrepresentation of what Kháfí Khán himself says, to which has consequently been given a sense the very opposite of its true meaning Kháfí Khán certainly says that he kept all these things locked up in a box, but it was the box of his 'memory.'[1] There might have been some reason for Kháfí Khán concealing his work for a year or two after the death of Aurangzeb, but there seems no sound or apparent reason for his concealing his work for nearly thirty years after that event."[2]]

The author of the "Critical Essay," translated and published for the Oriental Translation Fund, speaks of this history as containing a detailed and particular statement of various transactions which the author himself had actually witnessed, regretting at the same time that he had never seen it When Colonel Dow wrote his History of Hindústán, he was obliged to conclude at the end of the tenth year of Aurangzeb's reign, because there were no documents calculated to throw light upon the subsequent period Mill also complains that we have no complete history of Aurangzeb This defect has since been remedied by the Honourable Mountstewart Elphinstone, who has judiciously availed himself of Kháfí Khán's history, and thus has been

[1] [See the passage post, under the Eleventh Year of the Reign]

[2] [Journal Royal Asiatic Society, N S vol III p 471]

enabled to give us a complete narrative of the reign of Aurangzeb and his immediate successors Elphinstone confesses himself indebted to Major A Gordon, of the Madras Army, for a MS translation of Kháfi Khán's history down to near the end of Jahángír's reign, and he expresses his regret (Book X. Ch I), "that this excellent translation has not been carried on to the end of the history, which comes down to recent times, and affords the only full and connected account of the whole period which it embraces." Grant Duff acknowledges the same obligation in his History of the Mahrattas (vol i. p 118), and states that Mr Erskine had translated the portion relating to Sháh Jahán's transactions with the Dakhin [Inquiries have been made for this MS. translation of Major Gordon, but without success]

[Sir H. M Elliot had made no provision for the translation of this work. The lengthy translation which follows is entirely the work of the Editor The Text used is that published in the Bibliotheca Indica, but two MSS containing the history of Aurangzeb's reign, one belonging to the Library of the East India Office, and the other to the Royal Asiatic Society, have been occasionally referred to A greater number of copies has not been sought for, because, according to Colonel Lees, the MSS differ very much. "Copies (of Kháfi Khán's history) are very numerous, but, strange to say, no two copies that I have met with—and I have compared five apparently very good MSS.—are exactly alike, while some present such dissimilarities as almost to warrant the supposition that they are distinct works, some passages being quite accurate, and others again *entirely* dissimilar In the copies to be found of other well-known MSS, which have been copied and recopied repeatedly, we find omissions and a variety of readings, but not such broadcast discrepancies as I have found in some of the copies of Kháfi Khán which I have consulted."]

EXTRACTS.

Europeans at Húglí.[1]

[Text, vol. i p. 468.] The *Firingis* had formed a commercial settlement at Húglí, twenty *kos* from Rájmahál in Bengal In former times they had obtained the grant of a parcel of land for the stowing of their merchandize and for their abode. There they built a strong fort, with towers and walls, and furnished it with artillery. They also built a place of worship which they call "church" (*kalísá*) In course of time they overstepped the sufferance they had obtained They vexed the Musulmáns of the neighbourhood, and they harassed travellers, and they exerted themselves continually to strengthen their settlement. Of all their odious practices this was the worst —In the ports which they occupied on the sea-coast, they offered no injury either to the property or person of either Muhammadans or Hindús who dwelt under their rule; but if one of these inhabitants died, leaving children of tender age, they took both the children and the property under their charge, and, whether these young children were *saiyids*, or whether they were *bráhmans*, they made them Christians and slaves (*mamlúk*) In the ports of the Kokan in the Dakhin, and on the sea-coast, wherever they had forts and exercised authority, this was the custom of that insolent people. But notwithstanding the notoriety of this tyrannical practice, Musulmáns and Hindús of all tribes went into their settlements in pursuit of a livelihood, and took up their abode there They allowed no religious mendicant (*fakír*) to come into their bounds When one found his way in unawares, if he were a Hindú he was subjected to such tortures as made his escape with life very doubtful; and if he were a Musulman he was imprisoned and worried for some days, and then set at liberty When travellers passed in, and their baggage was examined for the custom-duties, no leniency was shown if any tobacco was found, because there are regular

[1] See suprà, p 31

licensed sellers of tobacco, and a traveller must not carry more than enough for his own use Unlike a Hindú temple, their place of worship was very conspicuous, for tapers of camphor were kept burning there in the day-time In accordance with their vain tenets, they had set up figures of the Lord Jesus and Mary (on our Prophet and on them be peace!), and other figures in wood, paint and wax, with great gaudiness But in the churches of the English, who are also Christians, there are no figures set up as idols. The writer of these pages has frequently gone into that place, and has conversed with their learned men, and records what he has observed

Reports of the unseemly practices of these people reached the Emperor, and when Kásim Khán was sent to Bengal as Governor, he received secret orders to suppress them, and to take their fortress Kásim Khán accordingly proceeded to Húglí and laid siege to it. The detail of his skilful arrangements and strenuous exertions would be of great length, suffice it to say that, by the aid of boats, and by the advance of his forces both by land and water, he brought down the pride of those people, and subdued their fortress after a siege of three months Nearly 50,000 *raiyats* of that place came out and took refuge with Kásim Khán Ten thousand persons, *Firingis* and *raiyats* perished in the course of the siege Fourteen hundred *Firingis*, and a number of persons who had been made Christians by force, were taken prisoners Nearly ten thousand persons, innocent *raiyats* and captives of those people, were set free. More than a thousand Musulmáns of the Imperial army fell in the course of the siege

Reign of Abu-l Muzaffar Muhiu-d din Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur 'Álamgir Padshah-i Ghazi, Eleventh in Descent from Amir Timur

Aurangzeb.

[Text, vol ii. p. 2] The attempt to write an epitome of the fifty years' reign of this illustrious monarch is like

trying to measure the waters of the sea in a pitcher, the affairs of the last forty years in particular are a boundless ocean, which authors have shrunk from committing to the thread of narrative. But for all this, the writer of these pages has resolved that to the best of his ability, and with the most active exertion, after the most exhaustive inquiry and complete investigation, he will narrate some events capable of narration which he has heard from the tongues of men advanced in years, which he has fully verified by inquiries from men in office and from the writers of official despatches, and by the evidence of his own eyes during this period of time Like plagiarists of no ability, he commits one fact out of a hundred to his crude relation, and offers his petition to his intelligent critics and well-informed readers, that if, from his feeble grasp of the thread of narrative, any discrepancies should appear between the earlier and later portions of his work, or if any trifling variations from other histories should appear, they will hold him excused, because in trustworthy books even discrepancies are found arising from varying versions (of the same occurrence)

Birth of Aurangzeb

[Text, vol II p. 3] Aurangzeb was born in the year 1028 A H. (1619 A.D) at Dhúd,[1] which is on the frontiers of the *súba* of Ahmadábád and Málwá, whilst his father was *súbadár* of the Dakhin.

Illness of Sháh Jahán.

[vol II p 4] On the 7th Zí-l hijja, 1067 A H (Sept 8, 1657 A.D), (the Emperor Sháh Jahán, called after his death) *Firdaus makání*, was attacked with illness, which turned out

[1] The "Dohud" of Thornton, "one hundred miles W of Ujjain, and seventy-seven N E of Baroda"

to be strangury. This produced much derangement in the government of the country, and in the peace of the people Dárá Shukoh looked upon himself as heir to the throne, and even in the time of his father's health he had held the reins of government But he had fallen into ill repute through having imbibed the heretical tenets of the *Súfís*. He had declared infidelity (*kufr*) and Islám to be twin brothers, and had written treatises on this subject, he had also associated himself with *Brahmans* and *Gosains* Seizing the opportunity (of his father's illness), he took the direction of State affairs into his own hands, and having exacted from the ministers their pledges not to publish what passed in council, he closed the roads of Bengal, Ahmadábád, and the Dakhin against messengers and travellers. But when the intelligence of his officious meddling had spread abroad through the provinces by the *dák-chauki* (post), a strong adverse feeling was shown by the *amirs*, *zamindárs*, and *raiyats*, and also by the unruly spirits who sought for a field of action Turbulent men from every corner and quarter, and men eager for a fray, in every province and country, raised their heads in expectation of strife

When intelligence of these proceedings reached Muhammad Shujá' in Bengal, and Muhammad Murád Bakhsh in Ahmadábád, each of them, vying with the other, had coins struck and the *khutba* read in his own name. Shujá', with a large force, marched against Bihár and Patna, and the news of his movements was carried to the capital Sháh Jahán had from the very first shown great partiality and affection for Dárá Shukoh, and generally, in all matters, had done his best to gratify his son. Now that he was ill, and no longer master of himself, he was more than ever inclined to gratify Dárá and yield to his wishes Dárá Shukoh looked with an eye of apprehension upon the talents of Prince Aurangzeb, and was made uneasy by the vigour and wisdom which he displayed So, by various arguments, he induced his father to recall to Court the nobles and generals who were engaged with Aurangzeb in the siege of

Bíjápúr When this evil news became known, the prosecution and completion of the siege of Bíjápúr was prevented. Aurangzeb made an arrangement with Sikandar 'Ádil Sháh of Bíjápúr, and accepted from him a promise to pay a tribute of a *kror* of rupees in cash and goods as the price of peace. He then raised the siege of Bíjápúr, and proceeded to Khujista-bunyád (Aurangábád) After this he learned that Dárá Shukoh, with the intention of getting possession of the treasure of Sháh Jahán, had left Dehlí, and had gone to Ágra

Defeat of Muhammad Shujá'.

[vol ii p 5] On the 4th Rabí'u-l awwal, 1068 A H (1st December, 1657), Dárá Shukoh sent Rája Jai Singh, and several other *amírs*, with an army under the command (of his son) Sulaimán Shukoh against Muhammad Shujá' When the Rája with the vanguard arrived near Benares,[1] Muhammad Shujá' prepared his forces for battle, and having got possession of several boats, he advanced to give battle to the Rája, and halted a *kos* and a half from him Next day the Rája moved from his ground early in the morning before sunrise, and while Muhammad Shujá' was yet asleep under the influence of wine, the Rája attacked him Roused from his slumber, the incautious and careless Prince found that all was lost He made a hurried flight with some of his servants and companions to a boat, and made his escape All his camp and treasure, artillery, and *materiel*, was plundered, and fell into the hands of the Rája After this defeat, Muhammad Shujá' did not return to Bengal, and that country fell into the possession of the officers of Dárá Shukoh A number of his servants and companions were taken prisoners, and were carried off by the Rája to Ágra. Dárá Shukoh had them paraded round the city, afterwards he put some of them to death, and of many others he had a hand amputated.

[1] "At the village of Bahádurpúr, on the side of the Ganges"—*'Álamgír-náma*

March against Murád Bakhsh.

[vol. ii. p. 6.] [1] On the same day that Sulaimán Shukoh and Rája Jai Singh were sent against Muhammad Shujá', Mahárája Jaswant Singh and Kásim Khán, with the royal artillery and with several thousand horse and some guns of their own, and attended by several *amírs* of repute, were ordered to march to Ahmadábád and the Dakhin Their instructions were that they were to ascertain the true state of affairs, and if Muhammad Murád Bakhsh should move from Ahmadábád, Kásim Khán [2] was to advance with several *amirs* and some guns to meet and receive him. After receiving intelligence of Prince (Murád Bakhsh's) departure from the Dakhin, Mahárája Jaswant Singh was to act according to circumstances If Prince Aurangzeb should begin to move from the Dakhin, the Mahárája and Kásim Khán were to lead all the royal forces across his line of march, and give him battle when opportunity offered Dárá Shukoh made the province of Málwá his own *ikta'*, and devoted the whole of the revenues to the payment of his officers, so that, their hopes being excited by the riches of that country, they might heartily support each other, and strengthen the army in prosecuting the war.

It also came to hearing that Dárá Skuhoh had imprisoned Ísá Beg, the *vakíl* of Aurangzeb, and had sequestered his house

Proceedings of Murád Bakhsh

[vol ii p 7] It was learned from the news-letters (*akhbár*) of Ahmadábád that Prince Muhammad Murád Bakhsh had struck coin and caused the *khutba* to be read in his name He had also sent Khwája Sháhbáz, a eunuch, with an army and necessary siege train for the reduction of the fort of Surat, and the occupation of the port Khwája Sháhbáz, on reaching Surat, invested the place,

[1] This statement begins with the words, "The news arrived," showing that the author writes from the side of Aurangzeb This, or a phrase of like meaning, is often used

[2] "Kásim Khán's special duty was to act against Murád Bakhsh, and remove him from Gujarát, and to support Jaswant Singh"—*'Álamgír-náma*, p 33

and after driving mines and blowing up bastions and forts, he reduced the fortress Then he called together the merchants of the place, and demanded from them a contribution of fifteen *lacs* of rupees. After much parley, the chiefs of the merchants agreed to pay six *lacs* of rupees on behalf of their body, and took a bond for the money under the seal of Muhammad Murád Bakhsh, and the bail of Khwája Sháhbáz. * * * *

Movements of Aurangzeb.

[vol ii p 9] About this time Mír Jumla arrived, who had been sent by Sháh Jahán before his illness to support Aurangzeb, and he acted as a trusted friend and faithful counsellor. But Aurangzeb deemed it expedient, in order to avoid reproach, to leave Mír Jumla as a prisoner at Daulatábád, while he himself marched against his enemies. As a matter of prudence and expediency, Aurangzeb wrote repeatedly and in the most affectionate terms to Muhammand Murád Bakhsh, and offered him his congratulations. In his letters he said, "I have not the slightest liking for or wish to take any part in the government of this deceitful and unstable world, my only desire is that I may make the pilgrimage to the temple of God But whatever course you have resolved upon in opposition to the good-for-nothing and unjust conduct of our disgraceful brother (*birádar-i be-shukoh*), you may consider me your sincere friend and ally. Our revered father is still alive, and I think that we two brothers should devote ourselves to his service, and to the punishment of the wilfulness of that haughty one and the presumption and conceit of that apostate If it be possible, and we are permitted to see our father again, after exerting ourselves to put down that strife and insurrection, we will entreat the King to forgive the faults of our brother, who has involuntarily been impelled to such a course of action After setting the government in order, and punishing the enemies of the State, our brother must be reclaimed, and he must go to pay a visit to the holy temple It is important that

you should allow of no delay in your movements, but should march at once to chastise that presumptuous infidel Jaswant Singh. You must consider me as having arrived on your side of the Nerbadda, and must look upon my numerous army and powerful artillery as the means of securing your victory You must know that I make the Word of God my bail for this treaty and compact, and you must by all means banish suspicion from your mind."

Aurangzeb arrived in Burhánpúr on the 25th Jumáda-l awwal, (1068 A H, 19th February, 1658 A D), * * and remained there a month attending to necessary arrangements, and obtaining accurate intelligence On the 25th Jumáda-l ákhir he set out on his march to the capital. * * Jaswant Singh knew nothing of the approach of the great army of the two brothers until they came within seven *kos* of Ujjain, when Rája Sheoráj, commandant of Mándú, obtained information of their having crossed at the ford of Akbarpúr, and wrote the particulars to the Mahárája Kásim Khán, on hearing that Prince Murád Bakhsh had left Ahmadábád, went forth in haste to welcome him But when he learnt that the Prince had gone eighteen *kos* out of the way to meet Aurangzeb, he turned back disappointed Dárá Shukoh's men, who were in the fortress of Dhár, when they beheld the irresistible forces of the two brothers, took to flight and joined the Mahárája

Rája Jaswant Singh, with Kásim Khán, on the approach of Prince Aurangzeb, advanced a march to meet him, and pitched his camp at the distance of one *kos* and a half Aurangzeb then sent a Bráhman called Kab, who had a great reputation as a Hindí poet and master of language, to the Rája with this message "My desire is to visit my father[1] I have no desire for war. It is therefore desirable that you should either accompany me, or keep away from my route, so that no conflict may arise, or blood be shed" The Rája did not acquiesce in this proposition, and sent an impertinent answer. Next day

[1] These few words represent the meaning of a great many

both sides prepared for battle. * * * On the 22nd Rajab, 1068 A H. (20th April, 1658 A D), the battle was joined.[1] * * * Every minute the dark ranks of the infidel Rájpúts were dispersed by the prowess of the followers of Islám. Dismay and great fear fell upon the heart of Jaswant, their leader, and he, far from acting like one of the renowned class of rájas, turned his back upon the battle, and was content to bring upon himself everlasting infamy. * * Kásim Khán also, with other Imperial officers and the forces of Dárá Shukoh, took to flight. Shouts of victory arose from the men of Aurangzeb, and all the artillery, elephants, treasure, camels, baggage, animals, and equipments of the enemy, after being rifled and plundered, came into the possession of Aurangzeb * * On the 27th Rajab the Prince marched from the borders of Ujjain, and on the 28th pitched his camp in the territories of Gwálior, * * and on the 1st of Ramazán crossed the Chambal

Condition of the Emperor Sháh Jahán.

[vol ii p 20] The hot climate of Ágra did not agree with the Emperor, and as he had only slightly improved in health, he set off for Dehlí. Dárá Shukoh from the first disapproved of this removal, and spoke against it Now when he had heard of the defeat of Rája Jaswant Singh, he was bewildered, and so worried his father with complaints and importunities, that he prevailed upon him to return. With the greatest urgency he made preparations for the coming conflict, and began his march with all the great nobles of his father's suite, with the old and newly raised followers of his own amounting to about 60,000 men, and with a strong train of artillery. * * It is said that the Emperor repeatedly forbad the march of Dárá Shukoh, and said that nothing would come of it but further strife and contention between the brothers He conceived the idea of setting out himself to expostulate with the two brothers, and bring about a

[1] "Near Dharmátpúr "—*A'lamgír-náma*

peace, and gave orders that preparations should be made for his journey. But Dárá Shukoh was averse to this, and being supported in his representations by Khán-Jahán Sháyista Khán, he diverted his father from his purpose It is also recorded that before the news arrived of Rája Jaswant's defeat, and before the two armies of the Dakhin and Ahmadábád had united, the Emperor desired to go towards them, and frequently consulted Khán-Jahán about it Khán-Jahán was maternal uncle of Aurangzeb, and was well disposed towards him He did not approve of the Emperor's design, but spoke of the excellent character and intelligence of Aurangzeb out of the hearty kindness he felt for him When the intelligence arrived of the defeat of Rája Jaswant Singh, the Emperor was very angry with Khán-Jahán for the part he had taken He struck him on the breast with his staff, and refused to see him for some two or three days But his old feeling of kindness revived He again consulted him about going forth to meet his sons, but the Khán gave the same advice as before, so that, notwithstanding the preparations, the intended journey ended in nothing

Defeat of Dárá Shukoh by Aurangzeb.

[Text, vol ii p 22] On the 16th of Sha'bán, (1068 A H, 10th May, 1658 A D), Dárá Shukoh sent Khalílu-llah Khán, and * * with some of the Imperial and his own forces, as an advanced force to Dholpúr, to make a stand there, and secure the fords of the Chambal. He himself remained outside the city (of Ágra) waiting for the arrival of Sulaimán Shukoh, who was expected to return from his operations against Shujá' But as Sulaimán did not arrive, he was obliged to start on his march to meet and engage his two brothers On the 6th Ramazán, near Samúgarh, the two armies encamped about half a *kos* distant from each other The forces which had been sent to guard the fords had effected nothing at all Next day Dárá Shukoh busied himself in distributing his forces, putting his guns in position, and arranging

his train of elephants. He advanced a little and took up a position in a wide plain, presenting a front nearly two *kos* in width The day was so hot that many strong men died from the heat of their armour and want of water. Aurangzeb also rode forth, but as he saw no advantage in being precipitate and beginning the fight, he took his stand about a cannon-shot distance, and waited for his adversary to commence the attack But, as he made no sign beyond a parade of his forces, after evening prayer, Aurangzeb encamped in the same position, but gave orders for a strict watch being kept until morning Next morning[1] Aurangzeb * * distributed his forces (in the following manner) * * Muhammad Murád Bakhsh, with his famous *sardárs*, took his place with the left wing * * Having made his arrangements, he kept with him a party of bold and trusty men, of all tribes, and placing Prince Muhammad A'zam behind, in the *howda*, he went forth to battle * *

The action began with discharges of rockets and guns, and thousands of arrows flew from both sides Sipihr Shukoh, the leader of Dárá's advanced force, in conceit with Rustam Khán Dakhiní, with ten or twelve thousand horse, made an attack upon Aurangzeb's guns Driving back all before them, they pressed forward to Prince Muhammad Sultán, who was with Aurangzeb's advance, and great confusion arose in this part of the army Just at this juncture, by luck, a ball from the enemy's own guns struck the elephant of the brave Rustam Khán, and stretched the animal dead upon the ground. This accident intimidated Rustam Khán, and he withdrew from his attack upon the advanced force, and fell upon the right wing under Bahádur Khán Koka. This commanding officer made a vigorous resistance, but forces were continually brought to support Rustam Khán, and the battle grew warm. Bahádur Khán at length received a wound which compelled him to retire, and many were killed

[1] Or, as the author expresses it, "When the sun, the mighty monarch of the golden crown, with his world-conquering sword, rose bright and refulgent from his orient rising-place, and when the king of the starry host put his head out of the window of the horizon"

and wounded on both sides. Aurangzeb's forces wavered, and seemed about to give way, when Islám Khán and others brought reinforcements to Bahádur At the same time Shaikh Mír and others, with the *altamsh*, came up to support the right wing, and to oppose Rustam Khán and the forces under Sipihr Shukoh A desperate contest was maintained, * * but at length Rustam Khán was defeated, and Sipihr Shukoh also was hurled back

Dárá Shukoh, being informed of the repulse of Sipihr Shukoh and Rustam Khán, led the centre of his army, composed of not less than 20,000 horse, against the victorious wing He advanced with great bravery and firmness from behind his own guns against the guns and the advanced force which had won the victory He was received with such heavy discharges of rockets, guns and muskets, and with such fierce charges from his brave opponents, that he was compelled to retire

Dárá next made an attack upon Prince Murád Bakhsh, and led a force like the waves of the sea against that lion of the field of battle The conflict was raging when Khalílu-llah Khán, the leader of the enemy's vanguard, led three or four thousand Uzbek archers against the elephant of Murád Bakhsh The arrows rained down from both sides, and confusion arose in the ranks of Murád Bakhsh, so that many were overpowered with fear and fell back The elephant of Murád Bakhsh was about to turn away covered with wounds from arrows, spears, and battle-axes, but his brave rider ordered a chain to be cast round his legs At this moment Rája Rám Singh, a man highly renowned among the Rájpúts for his bravery, wound a string of costly pearls round his head, and with his men clothed in yellow, as bent upon some desperate action, charged upon the elephant of Murád Bakhsh, and crying out defiantly, "What, do you contest the throne with Dárá Shukoh?" hurled his javelin against Murád Bakhsh. Then he cried out fiercely to the elephant-driver, "Make the elephant kneel down!" Murád Bakhsh having warded off his assault, shot him in the forehead with an arrow

and killed him The Rájpúts who followed that daring fellow mostly fell dead around the feet of the Prince's elephant, and made the ground as yellow as a field of saffron.

It is related in the *'Alamgir-náma* that at this point of the battle Aurangzeb came to the support of his brother, and helped to repulse the enemy But the author of this work has heard from his father (who was present in the battle in the suite of the Prince, and remained with him to the end of the engagement, although he was severely wounded), and from other trustworthy informants, that the Prince, after repeatedly making inquiries and learning of the progress of the enemy, was desirous of going to the support of his brother But Shaikh Mír dissuaded him, and advised him to remain patient where he was Meanwhile the battle raged fiercely, and deeds of valour and devotion were displayed on all sides

The fierce Rájpúts, by their energy and desperate fighting, made their way to the centre (which was under the command of Aurangzeb himself) One of them, Rája Rúp Singh Ráthor, sprang from his horse, and, with the greatest daring, having washed his hands of life, cut his way through the ranks of his enemies sword in hand, cast himself under the elephant on which the Prince was riding, and began to cut the girths which secured the *howda* The Prince became aware of this daring attempt, and in admiration of the man's bravery, desired his followers to take the rash and fearless fellow alive, but he was cut to pieces.

While this was going on, Rustam Khán again advanced against his brave opponents, and the fight grew hotter Rustam, who was the mainstay of Dárá's army, Rája Sattar Sál, and * * were killed in this conflict. Dárá, seeing so many of his noble and heroic followers killed and wounded, was much affected. He became distracted and irresolute, and knew not what to do Just at this time a rocket struck the *howda* of his elephant. This alarmed and discouraged him so much that he dismounted in haste from his elephant, without even waiting to put on his slippers, and he then without arms

mounted a horse. The sight of this ill-timed alarm, and of the empty *howda*, after he had changed his elephant for a horse, disheartened the soldiers. The men lost heart in sympathy with their leader, and began to think of flight. Just at this time, as one of his attendants was girding him with a quiver, a cannon-ball carried off the man's right hand and he fell dead The sight of this struck terror into the hearts of those around him, some of them dispersed, and others fled from the fatal field Dárá, beholding the dispersion of his followers, and the repulse of his army, prizing life more than the hope of a crown, turned away and fled Sipihr Shukoh also, at this time, joined his father with some of his followers,[1] and they all fled in despair towards Ágra A great victory was thus gained Shouts of exultation followed, and the young princes offered their congratulations

Aurangzeb descended from his elephant to return thanks for this signal victory, surpassing all expectation, and, after performing his devotions, he proceeded to the tent of Dárá Shukoh Everything had been ransacked except this tent and the artillery, so he took possession of the tent, which thus received a new honour. He bestowed presents and praises upon the princes and his devoted nobles, delighting them with his commendation and eulogy

Prince Murád Bakhsh had received many arrow wounds in his face and body. Aurangzeb first applied to them the salve of praise and compliment, and then had them dressed by skilful surgeons To the internal wounds of that weak-minded[2] Prince he applied the balm of thousands of praises and congratulations upon (his approaching) sovereignty Then he wiped away the tears and blood from his brother's cheek with the sleeve of condolence It is said that the *howda* in which Murád Bakhsh rode was stuck as thick with arrows as a porcupine with

[1] The *'Amal-i Sálih* says they were only thirty or forty in number The same work gives a long and laboured account of this battle, but it is not so circumstantial as that of Kháfi Khán

[2] *Sádah-lauh*, "tabula rasa."

quills, so that the ground of it was not visible This *howda* was kept in the store-house in the fort of the capital as a curiosity, and as a memorial of the bravery of that descendant of the house of Tímúr, and there it remained till the time of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar * *

Dárá Shukoh, with two thousand horse, many of whom were wounded, and without baggage, arrived at Ágra in the evening without torches He proceeded to his own house, and shame and remorse for his ruined fortune would not allow him to visit his father The Emperor sent for him, professing a desire to talk and take counsel with him, but he excused himself In the same night, after the third watch, he went out of the city towards Dehli, intending to proceed to Láhore He took with him Sipihr Shukoh, his wife and daughter and several attendants He also carried off on elephants, camels and mules, his jewels, gold, silver,'necessaries, and whatsoever he could In the third day's march he was joined by nearly 5000 horse, and some nobles and equipments, which were sent after him by his father

After resting a while from his victory, Aurangzeb addressed a letter to the Emperor [*recounting what had passed*], and excusing himself by referring all to the will of God Soon afterwards, Muhammad Amín Khán, and Khán-Jahán, son of Ásaf Khán, with many other nobles, who were the props of the State, came and proffered their services to Aurangzeb, and he honoured them with gifts of robes and jewels, horses and elephants. On the 10th Ramazán Aurangzeb marched from Samúgarh for Ágra, and encamped outside the city There he received from his father a consolatory letter written in his own hand. Next day Kudsiya Pádsháh Begam, by command of her father, came out to her brother, and spake to him some words of kindness and reproach by way of advice and as a proof of affection. The answer she received was contrary to what she had wished, and she returned. The Emperor then wrote another admonitory letter, and with a sword which bore upon it the auspicious name "Álamgír" (world-conqueror), he sent it with kind messages by one of

his personal attendants to Aurangzeb The word "Álamgír" immediately attracted notice. It was deemed a good omen, and called forth congratulations Aurangzeb then sent Prince Muhammad Sultán to restore order in the city, to rescue it from the violence and oppression of the army and the mob, and to give peace to the people To Khán-Jahán, son of Ásaf Khán, he gave the title of *Amiru-l umara*, * * and many of the other nobles who had come to wait upon him were rewarded with increase of rank and presents of money and jewels * *

Confinement of Sháh Jahán.

[vol. ii p 32] The authors of the three *'A'lamgir-námas* have each described the seclusion of the Emperor Sháh Jahán by the will of Aurangzeb, but 'Ákil Khán Kháfí, in his *Wakí'at-i 'A'lamgiri* has entered fully and particularly into matters, and has described the investment of the fort (of Ágra), the confinement of Sháh Jahán, the closing up of the waters *(band-namudan-i áb)*,[1] and the somewhat bitter correspondence which passed From this it appears that on the 17th Ramazán, 1068 (8th June, 1658), Aurangzeb directed Prince Muhammad Sultán to go into the fort of Ágra, and to place some of his trusty followers in charge of the gates Afterwards he was directed to wait upon his grandfather, to deliver to him some agreeable and disagreeable messages respecting his retirement, and to cut off from him all means of intercourse with the outside Accordingly Prince Muhammad Sultán went in and acted according to his instructions. He took from the Emperor all power and choice in matters of rule and government, and placed him in seclusion

Muhammad Ja'far Khán was sent to secure Mewát, which formed part of the *jagir* of Dárá Shukoh Twenty-six *lacs* of rupees, with some other requirements of royalty, were presented to Murád Bakhsh On the 22nd Ramazán Aurangzeb made

[1] Probably figurative Bringing matters to a crisis

his entry into Ágra, and took up his abode in the house of Dárá Shukoh * *

Flight of Dárá Shukoh.

[vol ii p 33] When Dárá Shukoh reached the vicinity of Dehlí, the close pursuit of Aurangzeb's forces, and the apprehension of being shut up in the city, determined him to remain outside There he employed himself in gathering money and supplies Whatever he found in the royal stores, or in the houses of the *amirs*, he laid hands upon. He remained some days awaiting the arrival of Sulaimán Shukoh, who, after his defeat of Shujá', was wandering about in Bihár and Patna in a state of perplexity—for the news of the success of Aurangzeb frightened him from going to join his father Dárá, perceiving that if he remained longer he would fall a prisoner into the harsh hands of his brother, marched off towards the Panjáb with the new army which had gathered round him, numbering about 10,000 horse. Every day he wrote letters to Sulaimán Shukoh, describing his wretched condition and his approaching arrival at Sirhind and Láhore He also wrote conciliatory letters to the *faujdárs* and governors of the Panjáb, in which he mingled promises and threats He repeatedly wrote to his father, lamenting his inability to wait upon him, through his adverse fortune and the unhappy dissension between the two brothers and their respective adherents

Aurangzeb also frequently resolved to go and see his father, to make excuses, and to seek forgiveness of the offences of which he had been guilty, by no choice of his own, but through the divine decrees of fate, and the unseemly conduct of his brother. But he knew that his father's feelings were strongly in favour of Dárá Shukoh, and that under the influence of destiny he lost all self-control, so he determined that it was better not to pay the visit Instead of going himself, he directed Prince Muhammad A'zam to go and wait upon the Emperor with many apologies. The Prince accordingly presented 500 *ashrafis* and

4000 rupees, and the Emperor, half in joy, half in anger, took the Prince to his bosom, and shed tears over him as he embraced him.

Aurangzeb next turned his attention to the pursuit of Dárá Shukoh. He left Prince Muhammad Sultán with * * * to attend upon the Emperor, and he appointed Islám Khán to be the Prince's director *(atálík)* * * On the 22nd Ramazán he started in pursuit of his brother On his way he learnt that Dárá had left Dehlí on the 21st Ramazán, and had gone towards Láhore * * * He sent Khán-daurán to supersede Saiyid Kásim Bárha in command of the fortress of Alláhábád If the Saiyid gave over the fortress, he was to be treated with courtesy and sent to Aurangzeb, if he refused to yield, Khán-daurán was directed to invest the fortress, and to call for reinforcements if necessary

Sháh Jahán, while in confinement, wrote secretly to Mahábat Khán, Governor of Kábul [*a long letter, in which he said*] "Dárá Shukoh is proceeding to Láhore There is no want of money in Láhore, there is abundance of men and horses in Kábul, and no one equal to Mahábat Khán in valour and generalship. The Khán ought therefore to hasten with his army to Láhore, and, having there joined Dárá Shukoh, they might march against the two undutiful sons, to inflict upon them the due reward of their misconduct, and to release the Emperor, the Sáhib Kirán-i sáni, from prison" * *

Imprisonment of Murád Bakhsh.

[vol ii p 37] This simple-minded[1] Prince had some good qualities, but in the honesty of his heart and trustfulness of his disposition, he had never given heed to the saying of the great man (Sa'dí) that two kings cannot be contained in one kingdom He was deluded by flattering promises, and by the presents of money, etc, which had been sent to him, but they were deposits

[1] The *'Álamgír-náma* calls him "stupid and ignorant"

or loans rather than gifts. * * * On the 4th Shawwál, while they were encamped at Mathurá, twenty-five *kos* from Ágra, Murád Bakhsh was made prisoner by a clever trick, which was aided by fortune, and into the particulars of which it is needless to enter Chains were placed upon his feet. That same night four elephants with covered *howdas* were sent off in four different directions, each under two or three *sardárs* and an escort The elephant which was sent to the fort of Salím-garh carried the prisoner Murád Bakhsh. This precaution was taken lest the partisans of the Prince should fall upon the *howda* in which he was confined All the treasure and effects of Murád Bakhsh, not one *dám* or *diram* of which was plundered, was confiscated.

Flight of Dárá Shukoh Aurangzeb ascends the Throne.

[vol ii p 39] Dárá Shukoh, in his progress through the Panjáb, broke up, burnt or sunk the boats where he crossed the rivers * * It was reported that upon his arrival at Láhore he had seized upon nearly a *kror* of treasure, together with all the stores belonging to the Government and the royal *amirs*, and that he was engaged in enlisting soldiers and collecting munitions of war On hearing this, Aurangzeb, not caring to enter the fortress of Dehlí, encamped in the garden of Ághar-ábád, now called Shálámár, and he sent on an advanced force, under Bahádur Khán, in pursuit of Dárá On the 1st Zi-l ka'da, 1068 A H (22nd July, 1658 A D.), after saying his prayers, and at an auspicious time, he took his seat on the throne of the Empire of Hindústán, without even troubling himself about placing his name on the coinage or having it repeated in the *khutba* * * Such matters as titles, the *khutba*, the coinage, and the sending of presents to other sovereigns, were all deferred to his second taking possession of the throne

Sulaimán Shukoh

[vol. ii. p. 41.] Intelligence now arrived that Sulaimán Shukoh had crossed the Ganges, and intended to proceed by

way of Hardwár, to join his father. The *Amíru-l umará* and * were sent off to intercept him by forced marches On the 7th Zí-l ka'da Aurangzeb began his march to Láhore in pursuit of Dárá * * The reporters now sent in the news that when Sulaimán Shukoh was approaching Hardwár, he heard that a force had been sent against him, and he had consequently turned off to the mountains of Srínagar His expectations of assistance from the *zamindars* of this country had not been fulfilled; so some of his adherents had parted from him, and were repairing to Aurangzeb. There remained with him altogether not more than five hundred horsemen, so, not deeming it prudent to stop longer there, he went off in the direction of Alláhábád Before reaching that city his guardian[1] (*atalik*) fell ill, and parted from him with more of his followers Not more than two hundred now remained with him, so he returned to the *Zamindár* of Srínagar His road passed through the *jagir* of the Princess Kudsiya He extorted two *lacs* of rupees from her manager, plundered his house, carried the man off prisoner, and afterwards put him to death. The remainder of his men now deserted him, and there remained only Muhammad Sháh Koka and a few attendants and servants The *Zamindár* of Srínagar coveted the money and jewels that he had with him, and kept him as a sort of prisoner in his fort After this had been reported, *Amíru-l umará*, who had been sent to intercept Sulaimán Shukoh, was directed to send him prisoner in charge of a detachment, and to go himself to A'gra to Prince Muhammad Sultán

Dárá Shukoh.

[vol ii p 42] After leaving Láhore, Dárá Shukoh busied himself in raising forces, and in winning the hearts of the dwellers in those parts. He made promises and engagements in writing to the *zamindárs* and *faujdars*, to conciliate them and augment his army So he collected nearly twenty thousand horsemen He wrote to his brother Shujá', and made the most solemn

[1] "Bahádur Khán"—*'A'lamgir-náma*

promises and oaths, that after bringing the country into subjection they would divide it between them in a brotherly way These deceitful and treacherous letters deceived Shujá', and although he had received kind and assuring letters and promises from Aurangzeb, the foolish fellow busied himself in collecting forces, and marched from Dacca to the assistance of Dárá Shukoh, with a strong army and a large force of artillery It was Dárá Shukoh's desire to celebrate his accession to the throne at Láhore, and to have his name placed upon the coins and repeated in the *khutba*, but the power of the sword of Aurangzeb prevented this The *zamindárs* and *faujdárs* of name and station, hearing of the decline of the fortunes of Dárá and the rise of the fortunes of Aurangzeb, forsook the former

Rája Jaswant.

[vol ii p 42] Rája Jaswant, when he fled from the encounter with Aurangzeb, betook himself to his own country Women, especially Rájpút women, have often a higher sense of honour than men, and for this reason will rather bear the torture of fire than suffer disgrace Rája Jaswant's chief wife was a daughter of Rája Chattar Sál She strongly condemned her husband's conduct, and refused to sleep with him. In conversation she would express her censure both by words and hints The Rája was stung to the quick by her reproaches, so he sent a letter by his *vakils* to Aurangzeb, asking forgiveness of his offences After his apology was accepted, he proceeded to Court, where he was graciously received, presented with many gifts and confirmed in his *mansab*.

Dárá Shukoh.

[vol ii p 44] Dárá Shukoh's newly-raised army had been greatly reduced by desertion, and he was alarmed at the approach of Aurangzeb, so he fled with three or four thousand horse and a few guns towards Thatta and Multán He left behind Dáúd Khán to obstruct as much as possible the passage of the rivers

by the army of Aurangzeb, by burning or sinking the boats. * * After a while the intelligence arrived that Dárá Shukoh, after staying at Multán for a short time, had gone off towards Bhakkar, and that his followers were daily decreasing * * In the beginning of Muharram, 1069 A H, Aurangzeb (continuing his pursuit of Dárá) pitched his camp on the banks of the Rávi near Multán * *

Prince Shujá'.

[vol ii p 45] Intelligence now arrived that Muhammad Shujá' had marched from Bengal with 25,000 horse and a strong force of artillery, with the intention of fighting against Aurangzeb This proceeding changed the plans of Aurangzeb, who deemed it necessary to give up the pursuit of Dárá, and to direct his energies to the repression of this graceless brother So on the 12th Muharram, 1069 (30th Sept, 1658 A D), Aurangzeb fell back towards Dehlí, the capital * * On the last day of Muharram, he started from Láhore, * * and on the 4th Rabí'u-l awwal he reached Dehlí There he learned that Muhammad Shujá' had advanced as far as Benares, and that Rám Dás, the commandant, who had been appointed by Dárá Shukoh, had surrendered the fort to Shujá' The commandants of Chítápúr and Alláhábád had also surrendered their fortresses and joined him * * After exacting three *lacs* of *rupees* under the name of a loan from the bankers of Benares, Muhammad Shujá' continued his march He sent a force against Jaunpúr, and the commander of that fortress after its investment surrendered and joined Shujá'

Mír Jumla Mu'azzam Khán

[vol ii. p 44] Instructions were sent to the Dakhin, directing the release of Mu'azzam Khán, *alias* Mír Jumla, whom Aurangzeb had deemed it desirable to leave in confinement at Daulatábád.[1] Mu'azzam Khán now arrived from the Dakhin,

[1] These few lines are found four pages earlier in the text

his zeal having urged him to make a quick journey. He brought with him his military *matériel*. Aurangzeb received him graciously, and acted under his advice in managing the army. * * He and his son Muhammad Amín Khán, with some other devoted adherents, were appointed to attend Aurangzeb, who was with the centre of the army

Defeat of Prince Shujá'.

[vol ii. p 50] The armies of Aurangzeb and Shujá'[1] were within half a *kos* of each other, and both sides prepared for battle * * The guns of Shujá' were so placed as to have an advantage over those of his opponents, so Mu'azzam Khán, who was a good tactician, removed forty guns during the night to another position He took no rest, but busied himself in ordering his army and encouraging the men The Emperor Aurangzeb was engaged in his tent performing his devotions, and praying to God for victory Suddenly, about the fourth watch, a great tumult arose Rája Jaswant Singh,[2] the treacherous wretch,[3] who marched with the army, had, through one of his confidants, opened communications with Shujá' in the early part of the night, undertaking to make a sudden assault upon the army just before daybreak, and to desert, doing as much mischief as he could "When I do this," said he, "the King (Aurangzeb) will come in pursuit of me; you must then charge sharply upon his forces"

About two hours of the night remained, when Jaswant Singh, in league with other Rájpút leaders, set their numerous followers in motion, and began to move off, destroying and plundering as they went, and cutting down all who opposed them The forces under Prince Muhammad Sultán suffered especially from their attacks No tent, small or great, escaped their ravages All his treasure and effects were plundered * *

[1] "At the village of Kora"—*'Álamgír-náma* "Shujá's army rested by the tank of Khajwa or Kachhwa"—*'Amal-i Sálih*

[2] He had been placed with other Rájas in the right wing

[3] A very faint expression of the abuse heaped upon him

Then they made towards the royal quarters, ransacking everything, and not a tent near the royal pavilion remained safe from them. For some time the cause of all this disorder was unknown All kinds of erroneous surmises were made, and a panic was spreading through the whole army Many men were so disheartened that they joined the plunderers, thinking that the best way of escaping from the disaster One party fled to the open country, another approached the enemy's army, and set about ravaging * * But for all this confusion in the army, nothing shook the resolution of Aurangzeb It was now reported to him that the traitor had moved off towards his home Then Aurangzeb descended from his elephant, and took his seat in a litter that all the panic-stricken men who beheld him might see that he was resolute, and had no intention of retreating He sent orderlies round to the commanders, directing them to forbid all riders of elephants or horses to stir from their places[1] * * Without exaggeration, half the army had gone away to plunder or escape, and many had joined the enemy Intelligence was brought of Jaswant Singh having marched away towards Ágra

Aurangzeb's devoted servants now gathered round him from far and near He then again mounted his elephant, and without a cloud upon his brow rode forth to arrange his order of battle * * Mu'azzam Khán received authority to make such alterations in the disposition of the forces as he deemed necessary. * * The battle began about the fourth or fifth *ghari* of the day with a cannonade which made the earth to tremble, and filled the hearts of both armies with awe and trembling * * A cannon-ball from the Emperor's army reached the elephant on which Sultán Zainu-l 'ábidín[2] was riding, and although it did not strike the Sultán,[3] it carried off one leg of the elephant-driver, and one leg also of the personal attendant who was seated behind the *howda* This circumstance greatly discouraged many of Shujá's

[1] More eulogy of the Emperor's firmness and resolution follows here and afterwards

[2] "Son of Shujá'"—'*Alamgir-náma*

[3] "Or the elephant"—*Ib*

army * * Saiyid 'Alam Bárha, with three elephants, made an attack upon the left of the royal army, and the vigour of his assault spread confusion in the ranks of his opponents, and many of them took to flight. The retreat of the left wing made the centre waver, and the Emperor was left with only 2000 horsemen to protect him. Greatly encouraged by the sight, the enemy made a bold and fierce attack upon the centre. The Emperor mounted upon an elephant, moved about inspiriting his men and shooting arrows against his enemies Murtazá Kúlí Khán, of the left wing, with * * several others, made a bold charge upon the enemy, and the Emperor, seeing how matters stood, joined in the charge * * This gave a severe check to the enemy, who lost many men killed and wounded.

The vigour of the Saiyids of Bárha had abated, but their three elephants, each of them dashing about with his trunk a chain of two or three *mans* weight, overthrew and crushed every one who came in their way One of them at length charged towards the elephant of the Emperor Without moving from his place or changing countenance, the Emperor made signs for his guards to shoot the animal's driver One of the guards brought the man to the ground and then one of the royal elephant-drivers got upon the elephant's neck and led him off The other two elephants then charged the right wing of the royal army, and other forces of the enemy coming up, this wing fell into confusion * * The Emperor was urged to move to its support, but he was hotly engaged himself * * He sent messages to the officers of the right wing, urging them to stand fast until he could come to their assistance Several of the enemy's leading men now fell, and the efforts of the forces opposed to the Emperor relaxed, so that he was able to proceed to the succour of his right This encouraged the men Cries of "Kill! kill!" were raised on every side, and many of the enemy were killed A general attack was made on the enemy's centre, and then several chiefs, who had thought it expedient to support him, came over and joined the Emperor Victory declared in favour of the Emperor,

and when the glad news of Shujá's flight was brought, shouts of congratulation and victory arose, and the drums and trumpets sounded in triumph.

The victors fell upon the camp of the enemy and thoroughly plundered it, every man took what he could lay hands on; but 114 guns, 115 elephants, and much treasure, and many jewels, came into the possession of the Emperor After descending from his elephant, and returning thanks to God for his victory, he praised his nobles for their exertions. Then he sent his son Muhammad Sultán[1] in pursuit of Shujá', with directions to use every exertion to cut off his flight * *

Flight of Dárá Shukoh.

[vol ii p 60] Intelligence was brought that Dárá Shukoh had arrived at Bhakkar in a wretched condition, with only three thousand horse Want of porters, and the desertion of many of his adherents, compelled him to leave part of his treasure and baggage under charge of some of his servants at Bhakkar Dense thorn-brakes, toilsome marches, and loss of porters, impeded his progress through the salt desert beside the river of Thatta, this, with the loss of baggage, which fell into the hands of his pursuers, allowed him no rest Through want of water, the hardships of the march, and various diseases, many of his men died or fell away from him. Shaikh Mír, his pursuer, kept treading on his heels, and, after crossing the desert, he had not more than a thousand horsemen left After arriving at Siwistán he determined to proceed to Ahmadábád

The force of Shaikh Mír, the pursuer, also suffered greatly from want of water, and the long and rapid march. Loss of horses and porters, added to the other hardships, killed and scattered them. Most of those who remained had to march on foot On these facts being reported, Shaikh Mír was ordered to return

[1] "Mu'azzam Khán was sent with him" —*'Amal-i Salih*

Surrender of Alláhábad.

[vol ii p 61] On the 1st Jumáda-l awwal Aurangzeb proceeded towards Ágra, and at the second stage he received a despatch from Prince Muhammad Sultán, reporting a second success over Shujá'. Saiyid Kásim, commandant of the fortress of Alláhábád, left a deputy in charge of the fortress, and accompanied Shujá' to battle After the defeat, Kásim Khán returned to the fortress, and busied himself in making it secure When Shujá' arrived, he made plausible excuses for not giving up the place He went out with alacrity to meet the Prince, made promises of fidelity, and entertained him, after which he was dismissed to his post. When Prince Muhammad Sultán drew near, he wrote to him a repentant letter, professing his obedience, and sending to him the keys of the fortress On hearing of this, Aurangzeb ordered Khán-daurán to be placed in command of Alláhábád, and Kásim Khán to be sent courteously to his presence

Rája Jaswant

[vol ii p 61] Aurangzeb appointed Amír Khán and * * with ten thousand horse to punish the traitor Rája Jaswant. He also joined to this force Rái Singh Ráthor, a nephew of Rája Jaswant, who had a family feud with his uncle This chief was honoured with the title of *rája* and many presents Hopes also were held out to him of a grant of Jodpúr, his native country

Dárá Shukoh.

[vol. ii. p 62] Directions were sent to Amír Khán, Governor of Láhore, that upon the return of Shaikh Mír from the pursuit of Dárá, he was to remove Prince Murád Bakhsh from Salím-garh, and send him under charge of Shaikh Mír to Gwálior.

On the 18th Jumáda-l awwal Aurangzeb reached Ágra, and on

the 23rd he again set out. He now learnt that Dárá Shukoh had passed through Kachh to the borders of the province of Ahmadábád. He had collected round him three or four thousand horse After the troops of Aurangzeb had given up the pursuit of him, he proceeded leisurely, endeavouring to gain over the *faujdars* and *zamindárs*, and to collect soldiers By presents of money and jewels he won over the *Zamindár* of Kachh, and affianced his daughter in marriage to Prince Sipihr Shukoh The *zamindar* sent him on with an escort through his territory towards Ahmadábád Upon his arriving there, Sháh Nawáz Khán, the *súbadár*, one of whose daughters was married to Aurangzeb, and another was in the house of Murád Bakhsh, went out to meet him, accompanied by Rahmat Khán *diwán*, and others. They presented to him near ten *lacs* worth of gold, silver, and other property belonging to Murád Bakhsh, which was in Ahmadábád Dárá Shukoh then exerted himself in collecting money and men, and in winning adherents by presents of robes and jewels, and by promotions in rank and title He appointed officers, who took possession of the ports of Surat, Kambáyat, Broach, and the districts around In the course of a month and seven days he collected 20,000 horse, and he sent requisitions to the governors of Bíjápúr and Haidarábád for money and men He also thought over several plans for going to the Dakhin, and for joining Rája Jaswant Singh. * * On the 1st Jumáda-l ákhir Dárá Shukoh began his march with a well-appointed army and a large train of artillery, for he had obtained thirty or forty guns from Surat As he pursued his march, he every day received false and delusive letters from Rája Jaswant, befooling him with promises of coming to his assistance.

When Aurangzeb received intelligence of these proceedings, he marched towards Ajmír Mirzá[1] Rája Jai Singh had interceded with him on behalf of Rája Jaswant, so he pardoned his offences,

[1] The same title is given to him in the *'Amal-i Salih*

and wrote to him a conciliatory letter, reinstating him in his *mansab*, and restoring to him his title of *Mahárája*. He at the same time directed the Rája to write to him about the state of affairs, and send the letter by swift messengers * * Muhammad Amín Khán, who had been commissioned to punish the Rája, was recalled Rája Jaswant, who had advanced twenty *kos* from Jodpúr to meet Dárá Shukoh, on receiving the Emperor's letter, broke off his alliance with Dárá, and returned to his own country

This defection greatly troubled Dárá, who opened a correspondence with the Rája, and endeavoured to win him over by promises and flattery, but without effect When Dárá came to a place twenty *kos* distant from Jodpúr, he sent a Hindú named De Chand to the Rája, but he artfully replied that he remained true to his engagement, but that it was not expedient for him to move just then Dárá Shukoh, he said, should go to Ajmír, and open communications with other Rájpúts. If two or three Rájpúts of note joined him, then he, the Rája, would also come to his support Dárá Shukoh, having no other course open, proceeded to Ajmír, and again sent De Chand to Jaswant, but all his persuasions and remonstrances were in vain, and it was evident that all the Rája's statements were false and treacherous The fact of his having received a letter of pardon from Aurangzeb was also publicly talked about. It has been said that "Necessity turns lions into foxes," and so Dárá Shukoh, notwithstanding his knowledge of the Rája's perfidy, sent Sipihr Shukoh to him, but although the Prince flattered and persuaded, and held out great promises, the traitor did not listen, and the Prince, like De Chand, turned empty away.

Deprived of all hope of assistance from Rája Jaswant, Dárá Shukoh was at a loss what course to pursue. Then he heard of the near approach of Aurangzeb, and resolved to fight But not deeming it expedient to fight a regular battle, he determined to retire into the hills about Ajmír, and to throw up lines of defence Accordingly he moved into the defiles, blocked up the

roads with barriers of stone and earth, and stationed his guns and musketeers so as to make his position secure * * He himself took his station with the centre * * Aurangzeb directed the commander of his artillery to advance his guns against Dárá's lines. * * For three days most vigorous attacks were made, but Dárá's position was very strong, and his men fought bravely, so that the assailants made no impression. Dárá's forces indeed sallied out, and after causing considerable destruction of men and beasts, returned to their positions. The artillery practice of the assailants damaged only the defence works. On the fourth night Aurangzeb called around him some of his most trusty servants, and incited them by strong exhortations and promises to undertake an assault * * Next day Aurangzeb sent Rája Rájrúp, *Zamindar* of Jamún, with his infantry, against the rear of a hill, where an assault was not expected, and where the concentration of forces was thought to render it impossible * * But he forced his way, and planted his banner on the summit of the hill * * The success at the beginning of the battle was due to Rája Rájrúp, but at last the victory was owing to the devotion of Shaikh Mír, and the intrepidity of Diler Khán Afghán, who attacked the lines held by Sháh Nawáz Khán Pride and shame so worked upon Sháh Nawáz, that he gave up all hope of surviving, and died fighting most courageously

Dárá Shukoh seeing the defeat of his army, and hearing of the death of Sháh Nawáz Khán, seeing also the approach of his victorious foes, lost all sense and self-control, and fled with Sipihr Shukoh, Fíroz Mewátí, and some of the inmates of his harem, in great consternation and sorrow Of all his nobles none accompanied him but the two above named He managed to save some jewels and money, and with some of his women, his daughter, and a few attendants, he went off towards Ahmadábád. * * The fact of his flight was not known for certain until three hours after dark, and fighting went on in several parts of the lines until the flight of the enemy and the abandonment of the lines were ascertained. * *

Rája Jai Singh and Bahádur were sent in command of a force in pursuit of Dárá Shukoh. * * Aurangzeb made a short stay at Ajmír, and started from thence for the capital on the 4th Rajab, 1069

Prince Shujá'

[vol ii p. 75] Prince Shujá' fled before the pursuing force of Prince Muhammad Sultán to Jahángír-nagar (Dacca), and Mu'azzam Khán obtained possession of the fort of Mongír * * Shortly afterwards the fort of Chunár, which Shujá' had got into his power, was given up to Aurangzeb

SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN (1659 A D)

[vol ii p 77] The second year of the reign commenced on the 4th Ramazán, 1069 A H * * The Emperor's name and titles were proclaimed in the pulpit as "Abú-l Muzaffar Muhíu-d dín Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahádur 'Álamgír Bádshah-i Ghází." In former reigns one side of the coins had been adorned with the words of the creed and the names of the first four Khalífs, but as coins pass into many unworthy places, and fall under the feet of infidels, it was ordered that this superscription should be changed [*for certain couplets containing the Emperor's name*].

[vol ii p 79] Since the reign of the Emperor Akbar the official year of account and the years of the reign had been reckoned from the 1st Farwardí, when the Sun enters Aries, to the end of Isfandiyár, and the year and its months were called Iláhí, but as this resembled the system of the fire-worshippers, the Emperor, in his zeal for upholding Muhammadan rule, directed that the year of the reign should be reckoned by the Arab lunar year and months, and that in the revenue accounts also the lunar year should be preferred to the solar The festival of the (solar) new year was entirely abolished. Mathematicians, astronomers, and men who have studied history, know that * * the recurrence of the four seasons, summer, winter, the rainy season of Hindú-

stán, the autumn and spring harvests, the ripening of the corn and fruit of each season, the *tankhwáh* of the *jágírs*, and the money of the *mansabdars*, are all dependent upon the solar reckoning, and cannot be regulated by the lunar, still his religious Majesty was unwilling that the *nauroz* and the year and months of the Magi should gives their names to the anniversary of his accession

Dárá Shukoh

[vol ii. p 80] The sad circumstances of the remainder of Dárá Shukoh's career must now be related. On leaving the mountains of Ajmír, he proceeded with his wife, daughter, some jewels, a little money, and a few domestic servants, towards Ahmadábád The rest of his treasure, goods, and necessary baggage, with some female servants, borne by twelve elephants and horses, he left behind in charge of servants, some of them old, some new, in the company and under the superintendence of some trusty eunuchs, with orders to follow as quickly as possible When this party had marched four or five *kos*, all the servants[1] began to plunder the property, and struggling and fighting with each other, every man seized what he could lay hands on The baggage was taken from the backs of the elephants and placed on camels, and the women were stripped of their jewels and taken off the camels to be mounted on the elephants, then the plunderers, with camels and horses laden with money and articles of great value, made off for the desert The eunuchs were unable to prevent the proceedings of their escort In great distress, and in dread of the pursuit of the victorious troops, they were intent upon preserving their own honour and that of their master; so they led off the women on the elephants, and pursuing all night the track of Dárá through the desert, after a night and a day they overtook him.

That forlorn fugitive, in sore distress, without baggage, and

[1] The text says simply "all," but it is clear from the context that this means the servants

despoiled by plunderers, wandered on through the desert. In eight days' time he approached Ahmadábád. But the officials of the city * * proclaimed Aurangzeb, and took measures to prevent Dárá from entering. The fugitive perceived that ill-fortune everywhere awaited him He gave up all hope of getting possession of the city, and went to Karí, two *kos* from Ahmadábád There he sought assistance from Kánjí Kolí, one of the most notorious rebels and robbers of that country. Kánjí joined him, and conducted him through Gujarát to the confines of Kachh Here he was joined by Gul Muhammad, whom he had made governor of Surat and Broach, and who brought with him fifty horse and two hundred matchlockmen. The *zamindar* of Kachh, when Dárá lately passed through the country, entertained him, treated him with every respect, and affianced a daughter in marriage to his son, all in expectation of future advantage Dárá, in his distress, now looked to him for assistance, but he heeded not, and did not even show the courtesy of a visit After two days spent in fruitless efforts to soften the *zamindar*, Dárá, with tearful eyes and burning heart, resolved to proceed to Bhakkar.

On reaching the frontier of Sind, Fíroz Mewátí, who had hitherto accompanied the unfortunate Prince, seeing how his evil fate still clung to him, abandoned the ill-starred fugitive, and went off to Dehlí Dárá, in a bewildered condition, proceeded towards the country of Jáwiyán,[1] but the dwellers in the deserts of that country closed the roads with the intention of making him prisoner. With some fighting and trouble he escaped from these people, and made his way into the country of the Makashís Mirzá Makashí, the chief of the tribe, came forth to meet him, took him home with great kindness, and entertained him. After this he proposed to send him towards Írán, under an escort which was to conduct him to Kandahár, twelve marches distant from where he was, and he strongly advised the adoption of this course. But Dárá could not give up his futile

[1] "Crossed the Indus, and proceeded to the country of Chánd Khán (or Jándbán)"—'*A'lamgír-náma*, p 412 The name Jáwiyán is confirmed by both MSS of Kháfí Khán.

hopes of recovering his throne and crown, and resolved to go to Malik Jíwan, *zamíndár* of Dhándar,[1] who had long been bound to him by acts of generosity, and sent to assure him of his devotion and fidelity

When Dárá reached the land of this evil *zamíndár*, Malik Jíwan came out like the destroying angel to meet him As a guest-murdering host he conducted Dárá home, and exerted himself to entertain him. During the two or three days that Dará remained here, his wife, Nádira Begam, daughter of Parwez, died of dysentery and vexation Mountain after mountain of trouble thus pressed upon the heart of Dárá, grief was added to grief, sorrow to sorrow, so that his mind no longer retained its equilibrium Without considering the consequences, he sent her corpse to Láhore in charge of Gul Muhammad, to be buried there[2] He thus parted from one who had been faithful to him through his darkest troubles He himself remained, attended only by a few domestic servants and useless eunuchs

After performing the ceremonies of mourning, Dárá determined to set out the next morning under the escort of Malik Jíwan for Írán, by way of Kandahár Jíwan apparently was ready to accompany him to Írán, but he had inwardly resolved to forward his own interests by trampling under foot all claims of gratitude,[3] and of making the wretched fugitive prisoner. So he formed his plan He accompanied his guest for some *kos* Then he represented that it was necessary for him to return, in order to procure some further provisions for the journey, which he would collect, and would overtake Dárá after two or three days' march. Accordingly he went back, leaving his brother with a party of the ruffians and robbers of the country

[1] Elphinstone has mistaken the name of the man for that of his country He calls him 'the chief of Jun on the eastern frontier of Sind' The *'A'lamgír-náma* calls him "Malik Jíwan Ayyub, an Afghan," and the name of his estate is given as "Dádar" or 'Dhádhar In the *'Amal-i Sálih* it is "Dháwar" It is probably Dadar in Kachh Gandáva

[2] "The deceased had left a will desiring to be buried in Hindústan"—*'A'lamgír-náma*

[3] The *'Amal-i Sálih* says that "the *zamíndár* Jíwan was bound in gratitude to Dárá by many kindnesses and favours"

to attend Dárá. This man suddenly fell upon his victim and made him prisoner, without giving him a chance of resistance Then he carried him back with Sipihr Shukoh and his companions to the perfidious host, and kept him under guard in the place appointed. Malik Jíwan wrote an account of this good service to Rája Jai Singh and Bahádur Khán, who had been sent from Ajmír in pursuit of Dárá, and he also wrote to Bákir Khán, governor of Bhakkar. Bákir Khán instantly sent off Malik Jíwan's letter express to Aurangzeb Upon the arrival of Bákir Khán's despatch, Aurangzeb communicated the fact to his private councillors, but did not make it public until the arrival of a letter from Bahádur Khán confirming the news At the end of the month of Shawwál it was published by beat of drum The public voice spoke with condemnation and abhorrence of Malik Jíwan, but a robe and a *mansab* of 1000, with 200 horse, were conferred upon him

It was now ascertained that Sulaimán Shukoh had sought refuge with the *zamindar* of Srínagar Rája Rájrúp was therefore directed to write to the *zamíndár*, and advise him to consult his own interest and bring Sulaimán out of his territory, if not, he must suffer the consequences of the royal anger [1]

In the middle of Zí-l hijja, Bahádur Khán brought Dárá Shukoh and his son Sipihr Shukoh to the Emperor, who gave orders that both father and son should be carried into the city chained and seated on an elephant, and thus be exposed to the people in the *Chandni chauk* and the *bázár*, after which they were to be carried to Khizrábád in old Dehlí, and there confined Bahádur Khán, after giving up his prisoner, received great rewards and marks of favour.

Two days afterwards Malik Jíwan, who had received the title of Bakhtiyár Khán, entered the city, and was passing through the streets of the *bázár*. The idlers, the partisans of Dárá Shukoh, the workmen and people of all sorts, inciting each

[1] The *'Amal-i Sálih* is more explicit, and says that Sulaimán was to be sent to Aurangzeb

other, gathered into a mob, and, assailing Jíwan and his companions with abuse and imprecations, they pelted them with dirt and filth, and clods and stones, so that several persons were knocked down and killed, and many were wounded. Jíwan was protected by shields held over his head, and he at length made his way through the crowd to the palace They say that the disturbance on this day was so great that it bordered on rebellion If the *kotwál* had not come forward with his policemen, not one of Malik Jíwan's followers would have escaped with life. Ashes and pots full of urine and ordure were thrown down from the roofs of the houses upon the heads of the Afgháns, and many of the bystanders were injured. Next day the *kotwál* made an investigation, and it was ascertained that an *ahadi* (guardsman) named Haibat had taken a leading part in the disturbance He was condemned by a legal decision, and was executed.

At the end of Zí-l hijja, 1069[1] (Sept 1659), the order was given for Dárá Shukoh to be put to death under a legal opinion of the lawyers, because he had apostatized from the law, had vilified religion, and had allied himself with heresy and infidelity After he was slain, his body was placed on a *houda* and carried round the city[2] So once alive and once dead he was exposed to the eyes of all men, and many wept over his fate He was buried in the tomb of Humáyún Sipihr Shukoh was ordered to be imprisoned in the fortress of Gwálior

Remission of Taxes

[vol ii p 87] The movements of large armies through the country, especially in the eastern and northern parts, during the two years past, and scarcity of rain in some parts, had combined to make grain dear To comfort the people and alleviate their distress, the Emperor gave orders for the remission of the

[1] "On the 26th day '—'*Amal-i Salih*

[2] The *Alamgir-nama* says nought about the legal opinion, or the exposure of the corpse It simply states that Aurangzeb gave the order for the execution, and that it was promptly carried out by certain officers, whose names are given

ráhdárí (toll) which was collected on every highway (*guzar*), frontier and ferry, and brought in a large sum to the revenue. He also remitted the *pándarí*, a ground or house cess, which was paid throughout the Imperial dominions by every tradesman and dealer, from the butcher, the potter, and the greengrocer, to the draper, jeweller, and banker. Something was paid to the government according to rule under this name for every bit of ground in the market, for every stall and shop, and the total revenue thus derived exceeded *lacs* (of rupees). Other cesses, lawful and unlawful, as the *sar-shumárí*, *buz-shumárí*,[1] *bar-gadí*,[2] the *charáí* (grazing tax) of the *Banjaras*, the *tuwa'ána*,[3] the collections from the fairs held at the festivals of Muhammadan saints, and at the *játras* or fairs of the infidels, held near Hindú temples, throughout the country far and wide, where *lacs* of people assemble once a year, and where buying and selling of all kinds goes on. The tax on spirits, on gambling-houses, on brothels, the fines, thank-offerings, and the fourth part of debts recovered by the help of magistrates from creditors. These and other imposts, nearly eighty in number, which brought in *krors* of rupees to the public treasury, were all abolished throughout Hindústán. Besides these, the tithe of corn,[4] which lawfully brought in twenty-five *lacs* of rupees, was remitted in order to alleviate the heavy cost of grain. To enforce these remissions, stringent orders were published everywhere throughout the provinces by the hands of mace-bearers and soldiers (*ahadí*).

But although his gracious and beneficent Majesty remitted these taxes, and issued strict orders prohibiting their collection, the avaricious propensities of men prevailed, so that, with the exception of the *pandarí*, which, being mostly obtained from the capital and the chief cities, felt the force of the abolition, the

[1] A tax on goats. The printed text has "*bar-shumarí*," but the MSS. agree in writing *buz*.

[2] This does not appear in either two of the MSS. referred to.

[3] "*Charáí banjára wa tuwa'ána wa hásil i ayyam*," etc. The *tuwa'ána* ought etymologically to mean some voluntary contribution.

[4] عشور جنس غله

royal prohibition had no effect, and *faujdárs* and *jágirdárs* in remote places did not withhold their hands from these exactions Firstly, because throughout the Imperial dominions in the reign of Aurangzeb, no fear and dread of punishment remained in the hearts of the *jágirdárs*, *faujdars*, and *zamindárs*. Secondly, because the revenue officers, through inattention, or want of consideration, or with an eye to profit, contrary to what was intended, made deductions (for these cesses) from the *tankhwáh* accounts of the *jagirdars* So the *jagirdars*, under the pretext that the amount of the cesses was entered in their *tankhwáh* papers, continued to collect the *rahdari* and many other of the abolished imposts, and even increased them When reports reached the government of infractions of these orders, (the offenders) were punished with a diminution of *mansab*, and the delegation of mace-bearers to their districts The mace-bearers forbad the collection of the imposts for a few days, and then retired After a while, the offenders, through their patrons or the management of their agents, got their *mansab* restored to its original amount. So the regulation for the abolition of most of the imposts had no effect.

The *rahdari* in particular is condemned by righteous and just men as a most vexatious impost, and oppressive to travellers, but a large sum is raised by it In most parts of the Imperial territories the *faujdars* and *jagirdárs*, by force and tyranny, now exact more than ever from the traders and poor and necessitous travellers The *zamindárs* also, seeing that no inquiries are made, extort more on roads within their boundaries than is collected on roads under royal officers By degrees matters have come to such a pass, that between the time of leaving the factory or port and reaching their destination, goods and merchandize pay double their cost price in tolls Through the villainy and oppression of the toll-collectors and the *zamindárs*, the property, the honour, and the lives of thousands of travellers and peaceful wayfarers are frittered away The Mahrattas, those turbulent people of the Dakhin (before the

peace and after the peace which I shall have to write about in the reign of Farrukh Siyar), and other *zamíndárs* upon the frontier, have carried their violence and oppression in the matter of the *ráhdári* to such extremes as are beyond description.

The War with Shujá'.—Defection of Prince Muhammad Sultán.

[vol ii p. 90.] Prince Muhammad Sultán, with Mu'azzam Khán as his adviser and commander-in-chief, pursued Shujá' until he reached Dacca, where Shujá' busied himself in collecting munitions of war, men and artillery The command of the Imperial army and the appointment of the *amírs* rested in a great degree with Mu'azzam Khán This was a great annoyance to the Prince, and Shujá', having got information of this, conceived the idea of winning the Prince over to his side. So he opened communications with the Prince, and by letters and presents, and the arts which gain the feelings of young, inexperienced men, he seduced the Prince from the duty he owed to his father, and brought him over to his own side Soon he offered the Prince his daughter in marriage, * * and at length the Prince was so deluded as to resolve upon joining Shujá'. Towards the end of the month Ramazán, at the beginning of the third year of the reign, he sent a message to Shujá', informing him of his intention, and in the night he embarked in a boat on the Ganges with Amír Kúlí, the commander of the artillery, Kásim 'Alí *Mír-tuzak*, who were the prime movers in this business, and with some eunuchs and domestic servants, taking with him all the treasure and jewels he could When Shujá' heard of this step, he referred it to the favour of God, and sent his son Buland Akhtar with several boats and porters to conduct the Prince with his treasure and baggage over the river.

After the Prince had crossed over, and Shujá's men were busy in carrying away his treasure and baggage, the fact

of his evasion became known, and was communicated to Mu'azzam Khán. The desertion caused great uneasiness in the Imperial army, * * and Mu'azzam Khán himself was much annoyed and troubled, but he would not allow this to be seen He mounted his horse, inspected the lines, encouraged the troops, and did all he could to counteract the effects of this untoward proceeding The rainy season had come, * * so, for the comfort of his troops, he removed thirty *kos* from Akbar-nagar, to a high ground suitable for a camp in the rains. * *

Shujá' passed over to Akbar-nagar by boats, and attacked Mu'azzam unawares, and although the Imperial forces made a splendid resistance, some of their allies were indifferent or disaffected, so they were overpowered and compelled to retreat Mu'azzam Khán brought up some forces from his centre, and encouraging the waverers, he renewed the resistance, and charged Two or three of Shujá's chief *amirs* were killed or wounded, and his attack was eventually repulsed There were several other conflicts with similar results, until the rains and the rising of the river put an end to all fighting * * Muhammad Sultán married Shujá's daughter, and it was announced that after spending a few days in nuptial pleasure at Akbar-nagar, the attack on the Imperial army would be renewed * * Mu'azzam Khán received reinforcements after the cessation of the rains, and it would be a long story to relate all his bold and skilful movements Suffice it to say that in the course of fifteen to twenty days there were some sharp conflicts, in which Shujá' was defeated, and eventually put to flight, and escaped in the war-boats, by means of which he had been enabled to make his attacks on the army of Mu'azzam. * * Many of the war-boats were sunk by the fire of the artillery, and some were captured * * Several actions were fought near the streams, and also between the war-boats on the Ganges in the vicinity of Tánda, in which many men were killed and wounded.

When Aurangzeb received the intelligence of Muhammad Sultán's going over to Shujá', and of Mu'azzam Khán's obstinate

fighting, he thought it prudent and necessary to go himself to the seat of war, and on the 5th Rabí'u-l awwal he set out for the East * * About the middle of Rabí'u-s sání intelligence arrived that Prince Muhammad Sultán had left Shujá', and had again joined Mu'azzam Khán The Prince repented of the step he had taken, * * and communicated to one of the commanders in the royal army that he desired to return * * He escaped with some of his servants and jewels and money on board of four boats, but he was pursued by the boats of Shujá'. * * The boats were fired upon, and one was sunk, but the Prince escaped His return gave great joy to Mu'azzam Khán, who reported the fact to the Emperor, under whose orders he was sent to Court[1] [*and his associates to prison*]

When the Prince returned to his father's army, Shujá' meditated flight, but still some hard fighting went on At length Shujá' despaired of success, and retired leaving Bengal to the occupation of Mu'azzam Khán.

Sháh Jahán

[vol. ii p 101] Many letters passed between the Emperor Sháh Jahán and Aurangzeb, full of complaints and reproaches on one side, and of irritating excuses on the other There is no advantage to be gained from recording this correspondence, and the copies of the Emperor's letters are not in the author's possession, but two or three[2] letters which Aurangzeb wrote to his father are here reproduced verbatim, and the contents of Sháh Jahán's letters may be inferred from them

[p 104] The third letter is in answer to one written by Sháh Jahán to Aurangzeb, pardoning his offences, and sending some jewels and clothes, belonging to Dárá Shukoh, which had been left in his palace.

[1] The '*Amal-i Sálih* says that the Prince was confined in the fort of Mír-garh, or in Salím-garh according to the '*Alamgír-náma*

[2] Three are given, but the last one only has been translated

"After discharging the observances of religion, it is represented to your most august presence The gracious letter which you sent in answer to the humble statement of your servant[1] conferred great honour upon him at a most auspicious time The glad tidings of the pardon of his faults and sins has filled him with joy and gladness Through the gracious kindness of his fault-forgiving and excuse-accepting father and master, he is filled with hope Thanks be to God that Your Highness, listening to the suggestions of equity and merit, has preferred mercy to revenge, and has rescued this wicked and disgraced sinner from the abyss of sorrow and misery in both worlds! His firm hope in the mercy of God is that in future no unworthy action will proceed from this humble servant! God, who knows the secrets of the hearts, who, according to the belief of the faithful and the infidel, and according to all religions and faiths, takes note of lies and falsehoods, He knows that this servant is not and has never been acting in opposition to the will and pleasure of his august father, as evil-judging men have supposed, but that he has considered himself the deputy of his father, and continues firm in this important service and duty! But the due ordering of the affairs of the State and of the Faith, and the comfort of the people, are impossible under the rule of one who acts as a deputy So, unwillingly, for the safety of the State and the good of the people, he is acting, for a few days, in the way which his heart disapproves. God knows how many regrets he has felt in this course of action! Please God, the moment that peace shall dawn upon the country, and the clouds of strife shall be dispelled, all Your Majesty's wishes shall be gratified to your heart's desire! This humble one has devoted the best part of his life entirely to performing good service and rendering satisfaction (to God), how then can he be satisfied that, for the fleeting trifles of the world, the august days of Your Majesty, to whose happiness the life and wealth of your children are devoted, should be passed in discomfort, and that the people of your palace should be separated

[1] He calls himself *murid*, "disciple," and his father *murshid*, "spiritual teacher"

from you! Shujá', not knowing the value of safety, came to Alláhábád with evil intentions, and stirred up strife. Your Majesty's humble servant, though he feels somewhat at ease as regards his elder brother, has not given up all thought of him, but, placing his trust in God, and hoping for the help of the true giver of victory, he marched against him on the 17th instant. He is hopeful that, under the guidance of God and the help of the Prophet, and the good wishes of his old paternal protector,[1] he will soon be free of this business, and do nothing to hurt the feelings of Your Majesty. It is clear to Your Majesty that God Almighty bestows his trusts upon one who discharges the duty of cherishing his subjects and protecting the people. It is manifest and clear to wise men that a wolf is not fit for a shepherd, and that no poor-spirited man can perform the great duty of governing. Sovereignty signifies protection of the people, not self-indulgence and libertinism. The Almighty will deliver your humble servant from all feeling of remorse as regards Your Majesty. Your servant, after acknowledging your pardon of his faults and offences, and the present of the jewels of Dárá Shukoh, returns his thanks for your kindness and forgiveness."

The author heard from a trustworthy person, who was formerly superintendent of the jewel-house, that Dárá Shukoh left jewels and pearls worth 27 *lacs* of rupees, belonging to the inmates of his harem, in the jewel-room inside the palace, with the cognizance of the Emperor. After his defeat he found no opportunity of removing them. Sháh Jahán, after much contention, perquisition and demanding, sent them to Aurangzeb, with the letter of forgiveness which *nolens volens* he had written.

THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1070 (A.H., 1660 A.D.)

Disappearance of Prince Shujá'.

[vol. ii. p. 107.] The third year of the reign began on the 24th Ramazán. * * Despatches about this time arrived from

[1] "*Dastgír*," the word used, is equivocal, it means both "patron" and "prisoner."

Mu'azzam Khán, reporting his successive victories and the flight of Shujá' to the country of Rakhang (Arracan), leaving Bengal undefended. It appeared that there had been several actions in which Shujá' was invariably defeated, and that after the last, he loaded two boats with his personal effects, vessels of gold and silver, jewels, treasure and other appendages of royalty * * His son had been in correspondence with the Rája of Rakhang, (Arracan), * * and when Shujá' saw that he had no ally or friend anywhere left, and that those whom he had deemed faithful had deserted him, he conceived the idea of occupying one of the fortresses on the frontiers of the Rája of Rakhang, and addressed the Rája on the subject * * But he was unable to carry his design into execution, and at length, in the greatest wretchedness and distress, he fell into the clutches of the treacherous infidel ruler of that country, and according to common rumour he was killed, so that no one ascertained what became of him [1]

Beginning of the troubles with Sivají [2]

[vol ii p. 110] I now relate what I have heard from trusty men of the Dakhin and of the Mahratta race about the origin and race of the reprobate Sivají His ancestors owe their origin to the line of the Ránás of Chitor. In the tribe of the Rájpúts, and among all Hindús, it is the settled opinion, that to have a son by a woman of a different caste, or to beget one upon a slave-girl (*kaniz*), is wrong and censurable But if in youth, when the passions are strong, a man should have a son by a strange woman, he should take him into his house and have him brought

[1] In the *Amal-i Sálih* it is said, "When Sháh Shujá was informed of [Sultán Muhammad's evasion] he lost heart, and with some of his Kháns and with forty or fifty faithful servants, he embarked in a boat and proceeded to Makka (مکه) From that time to the present year, 1081 A H , no one knows whether he is alive or dead " Makka is Mecca, and this was probably what the copyists understood, but it is more likely that the word used by the author had reference to the "Mughs" or inhabitants of Arracan

[2] *His name is written* سیوای.

up among his confidential handmaids and slaves. But nothing descends to such a son on the death (of the father). Even if the mother of the child is of a better stock than the father, she cannot marry him unless she be of the same tribe. If, through love, a man consorts with such a woman, and has a son, the child is looked upon with great disdain, he is brought up as a bastard, and can only marry with one like himself. If a woman of the merchant caste goes into the house of a man of lower caste than herself, or the daughter of a Bráhman consorts with a Khatrí, every child that is born is looked upon as a slave (*kaniz o ghulám*)

It is said that one of the ancestors of Sivají, from whom he received the name of Bhoslah, dwelt in the country of the Ráná. He formed a connexion with a woman of inferior caste, and, according to the custom of his tribe, he took the woman to himself without marriage She bore him a son. Reflecting upon this disgrace to himself and tribe, he kept the child concealed in the hills in that position of life which he had determined for him There he secretly brought him up He was very devoted to the woman; so that, although his father and mother wished him to marry a woman of his own tribe, he would not consent When the cup of his affection ran over, and the fact of this maintenance of his child was the common talk of friends and strangers, he secretly took the boy from the place where he had concealed him, and carried him off along with his mother to the Dakhin. Although he falsely gave out that his son was by a woman of his own tribe, no Rájput of pure race would allow of any matrimonial connexion with the boy So he was obliged to marry the lad to a girl of the Mahratta tribe, which also claims to belong to an obscure class of Rájpúts. From this good stock, in the seventh or eighth generation, was born Sáhú Bhoslah. The origin of the name Bhoslah, according to the commonly-received opinion, is from the Hinduwí word "*ghoslah*," meaning "place,"[1] or a very small and narrow place; and as that man was brought

[1] The commonly-received meaning is "bird's-nest."

up in such a place, he received the name of Bhoslah. But I have heard a different explanation

After the dominions of the Nizámu-l Mulk dynasty had passed into the possession of Sháh Jahán, and that Emperor had entered into friendly relations with 'Ádil Khán of Bíjápúr, the latter proposed to exchange certain districts in the neighbourhood of Khujista-bunyád (Aurangábád), and belonging to Bíjápúr, for the ports of Jíwal, Bábal Danda Rájpúrí, and Chákna[1] in the Kokan, which had formerly appertained to Nizámu-l Mulk, but had been taken possession of by 'Ádil Sháh, as being in proximity with his territory in the Konkan known by the name of Tal Kokan These districts consisted of jungles and hills full of trees The proposal was accepted, and both Kokans were included in the territory of 'Ádil Khán of Bíjápúr * *

Mullá Ahmad, an adherent of the Bíjápúr dynasty, who was descended from an Arab immigrant, held three *parganas* in this country * * At this time two *parganas*, named Púna and Súpa, became the *jagir* of Sáhú Bhoslah. Sivají became the manager of these two *parganas* on the part of his father, and looked carefully after them He was distinguished in his tribe for courage and intelligence, and for craft and trickery he was reckoned a sharp son of the devil, the father of fraud In that country, where all the hills rise to the sky, and the jungles are full of trees and bushes, he had an inaccessible abode Like the *zamindars* of the country, he set about erecting forts on the hills, and mud forts, which in the Hinduwí dialect of the Dakhin are called *garhi*

'Ádil Khán of Bíjápúr was attacked by sickness, under which he suffered for a long time, and great confusion arose in his territory At this time Mullá Ahmad went with his followers to wait upon the Emperor Sháh Jahán, and Sivají, seeing his country

[1] Danda and Rájpúrí are close together, near Jinjira Jíwal and Bábal (or Pábal) are said in a subsequent passage to be "on the coast near Surat" Chákna, a place frequently mentioned, is not a port, but lies a little north of Púna. See an account of Chákna in Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, vol. i p 61

left without a ruler, boldly and wickedly stepped in and seized it, with the possessions of some other *jágirdárs*. This was the beginning of that system of violence which he and his descendants have spread over the rest of the Kokan and all the territory of the Dakhin. Whenever he heard of a prosperous town, or of a district inhabited by thriving cultivators, he plundered it and took possession of it. Before the *jágirdárs* in those troublous times could appeal to Bíjápúr, he had sent in his own account of the matter, with presents and offerings, charging the *jágirdárs* or proprietors with some offence which he had felt called upon to punish, and offering to pay some advanced amount for the lands on their being attached to his own *jágir*, or to pay their revenues direct to the Government. He communicated these matters to the officials at Bíjápúr, who in those disturbed times took little heed of what any one did. So when the *jágirdar's* complaint arrived, he obtained no redress, because no one took any notice of it. The country of the Dakhin was never free from commotions and outbreaks, and so the officials, the *raiyats*, and the soldiery, under the influence of surrounding circumstances, were greedy, stupid, and frivolous; thus they applied the axe to their feet with their own hands, and threw their wealth and property to the winds. The greed of the officials increased, especially in those days when the authority of the rulers was interrupted, or their attention diverted. In accordance with the wishes of this disturber, the reins of authority over that country fell into his hands, and he at length became the most notorious of all the rebels.

He assembled a large force of Mahratta robbers and plunderers, and set about reducing fortresses. The first fort he reduced was that of Chandan.[1] After that he got possession of some other fortresses which were short of supplies, or were in charge of weak and inexperienced commandants. Evil days fell upon the kingdom of Bíjápúr in the time of Sikandar 'Alí 'Ádil

[1] Also called Chandan-mandan. See Grant Duff (vol. i. p. 130), who says that Torna was the first fort he obtained.

Khán the Second, whose legitimacy was questioned, and who ruled when a minor as the *locum tenens* of his father. The operations of Aurangzeb against that country when he was a prince in the reign of his father, brought great evil upon the country, and other troubles also arose Sivají day by day increased in strength, and reduced all the forts of the country, so that in course of time he became a man of power and means He had drawn together a large force, and attacked the Kings of Hind and of Bíjápúr, and, protected by mountains and jungles full of trees, he ravaged and plundered in all directions far and wide The inaccessible forts of Rájgarh[1] and Chákna were his abodes, and he had secured several islands in the sea by means of a fleet which he had formed He built several forts also in those parts, so that altogether he had forty forts, all of which were well supplied with provisions and munitions of war Boldly raising his standard of rebellion, he became the most noted rebel of the Dakhin

Sivají murders Afzal Khán Bíjápúri

When Sikandar 'Alí 'Ádil Khán came to years of discretion, and took the government into his own hands, he wrote letters to Sivají, but without effect He then sent Afzal Khán with a large army to chastise the rebel Afzal Khán was one of 'Ádil Khán's most distinguished and courageous officers, and he pressed Sivají hard The truculent rebel, knowing that he could gain nothing by regular warfare, artfully sent some of his people to express his repentance, and to beg forgiveness of his offences After some negociation, the deceitful *bráhmans* made an agreement that Sivají should come to wait upon Afzal Khán at a certain place under his fortress with only three or four servants and entirely without arms Afzal Khán likewise was to proceed in a *palki*, with four or five servants, and without arms, to the place agreed upon under the fort After Sivají had paid his

[1] About twenty miles south-west of Púna.

respects, and verbal agreements had been made, he was to receive a *khil'at* and then be dismissed When Afzal Khán had taken the proffered tribute and *peshkash*, Sivají was to entertain him, and speed him on his way back to Bíjápúr, or rather he would attend him thither in person upon an assurance of reconciliation

The designing rascal by sending various presents and fruits of the country, and by his humbleness and submission, conciliated Afzal Khân, who fell into the snare, believing all his false deceiving statements, and observing none of that caution which the wise commend Without arms he mounted the *pálki*, and proceeded to the place appointed under the fortress. He left all his attendants at the distance of a long arrow-shot Then the deceiver came down on foot from the fort, and made his appearance with manifestations of humility and despair Upon reaching the foot of the hill, after every three or four steps, he made a confession of his offences, and begged forgiveness in abject terms and with limbs trembling and crouching He begged that the armed men and the servants who had accompanied Afzal Khán's litter should move farther off Sivají had a weapon, called in the language of the Dakhin *bichúa*,[1] on the fingers of his hand hidden under his sleeve, so that it could not be seen He had concealed a number of armed men among the trees and rocks all about the hill, and he had placed a trumpeter on the steps, to whom he said, "I intend to kill my enemy with this murderous weapon, the moment you see me strike, do not think about me, but blow your trumpet and give the signal to my soldiers" He had given orders to his troops also that as soon as they heard the blast of the trumpet, they should rush out and fall upon the men of Afzal Khán, and do their best to attain success.

Afzal Khán, whom the angel of doom had led by the collar to that place, was confident in his own courage, and saw Sivají approach unarmed and fearing and trembling He looked upon

[1] The primary meaning of this word is "a scorpion" The weapon is also called *wdg-nakh*, "tiger's claws" Grant Duff gives a drawing of one

his person and spirit as much alike, so he directed all the men who had accompanied his litter to withdraw to a distance. The treacherous foe then approached and threw himself weeping at the feet of Afzal Khán, who raised his head, and was about to place the hand of kindness on his back and embrace him Sivají then struck the concealed weapon so fiercely into his stomach that he died without a groan According to his orders, the trumpeter blew a blast of triumph to arouse the concealed troops Men on horse and foot then rushed forth in great numbers on all sides, and fell upon the army of Afzal Khán, killing, plundering, and destroying The bloodthirsty assassin rushed away in safety and joined his own men, whom he ordered to offer quarter to the defeated troops. He obtained possession of the horses, elephants, treasure, and all the baggage and stores He proposed to take the soldiers into his service, and gained them over Then, as usual, he went on collecting stores and men.

'Ádil Khán of Bíjápúr, on hearing of this defeat, sent another army against Sivají, under the command of Rustam Khán, one of his best generals An action was fought near the fort of Parnála, and Rustam Khán was defeated In fine, Fortune so favoured this treacherous worthless man, that his forces increased, and he grew more powerful every day He erected new forts, and employed himself in settling his own territories, and in plundering those of Bíjápúr. He attacked the caravans which came from distant parts, and appropriated to himself the goods and the women But he made it a rule that wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of any one Whenever a copy of the sacred Kurán came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Musulmán followers When the women of any Hindú or Muhammadan were taken prisoners by his men, and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them until their relations came with a suitable ransom to buy their liberty Whenever he found out that a woman was a slave-girl, he looked upon her as being the property of her master, and appropriated her to himself

He laid down the rule that whenever a place was plundered, the *goods of poor people*, *pul-siyáh* (copper money), and vessels of brass and copper, should belong to the man who found them, but other articles, gold and silver, coined or uncoined, gems, valuable stuffs and jewels, were not to belong to the finder, but were to be given up without the smallest deduction to the officers, and to be by them paid over to Sivají's government

March of Amíru-l umará[1] to punish Siwají

[vol. ii p 119] When Aurangzeb was informed of Sivají's violence, he directed *Amíru-l umará* who was *Súbadar* of the Dakhin, to punish and put him down *Amíru-l umara* marched, in accordance with these orders, from Aurangábád at the end of Jumáda-l awwal, 1070 (end of January, 1660 A.D), and marched towards Púna and Chákna, which in those days were Sivají's places of abode and security. He left Mumtáz Khán in command at Aurangábád, and on the 1st Rajab arrived at the village of Seogánw, belonging to Sivají At this time Sivají was at the town of Súpa,[2] but upon hearing of *Amíru-l umará's* movements, he vacated that place, and went off in another direction *Amíru-l umará* took Súpa without opposition, and left Jadú Ráí there to take charge of it, and to provide supplies of corn for the army The daring freebooter Sivaji ordered his followers to attack and plunder the baggage[3] of *Amíru-l umara's* army wherever they met with it. When the *Amír* was informed of this, he appointed 4000 horse, under experienced officers, to protect the baggage But every day, and in every march, Sivají's Dakhinís swarmed round the baggage, and falling suddenly upon it like Cossacks, they carried off horses, camels, men, and whatever they could secure, until they became aware of the approach of the troops The Imperial forces

[1] Sháyista Khán

[2] About forty miles south-east of Púna

[3] *Kahl*, "forage, provisions"

pursued them, and harassed them, so that they lost courage, and giving up fighting for flight, they dispersed At length they reached Púna and Sívápúr, two places built by that dog (Sivají) The Imperial forces took both these places and held them

Then the royal armies marched to the fort of Chákna, and after examining its bastions and walls, they opened trenches, erected batteries, threw up intrenchments round their own position, and began to drive mines under the fort Thus having invested the place, they used their best efforts to reduce it The rains in that country last nearly five months, and fall night and day, so that people cannot put their heads out of their houses The heavy masses of clouds change day into night, so that lamps are often needed, for without them one man cannot see another one of a party But for all the muskets were rendered useless, the powder spoilt, and the bows deprived of their strings, the siege was vigorously pressed, and the walls of the fortress were breached by the fire of the guns The garrison were hard pressed and troubled, but in dark nights they sallied forth into the trenches and fought with surprising boldness Sometimes the forces of the freebooter on the outside combined with those inside in making a simultaneous attack in broad daylight, and placed the trenches in great danger. After the siege had lasted fifty or sixty days, a bastion which had been mined was blown up, and stones, bricks and men flew into the air like pigeons The brave soldiers of Islám, trusting in God, and placing their shields before them, rushed to the assault and fought with great determination. But the infidels had thrown up a barrier of earth inside the fortress, and had made intrenchments and places of defence in many parts. All the day passed in fighting, and many of the assailants were killed But the brave warriors disdained to retreat, and passed the night without food or rest amid the ruins and the blood As soon as the sun rose, they renewed their attacks, and after putting many of the garrison to the sword, by dint of great exertion and resolution they carried the place. The survivors of the garrison retired into

the citadel. In this assault 300 men of the royal army were slain, besides sappers and others engaged in the work of the siege. Six or seven hundred horse and foot were wounded by stones and bullets, arrows and swords. The men in the citadel being reduced to extremity, sent Ráo Bháo Singh to make terms, and then surrendered. Next day *Amíru-l umará* entered and inspected the fortress, and having left Uzbak Khán in command of it, he marched after Sivají. After a time he gave the name of Islámábád to Chákna, and called Ja'far Khán from Málwá to his assistance. *Amíru-l umará* reported that the fort of Parenda had been won without fighting.[1]

Sulaimán Shukoh.

[vol. ii. p. 123.] Sulaimán Shukoh had for some time found refuge in the hills with Pirthí Singh, *Zamíndár* of Srínagar, and Tarbiyat Khán had been sent with an army to overrun that territory. Pirthí Singh now wrote, through the medium of Rája Jai Singh, begging forgiveness for his offences, and offering to give up Sulaimán Shukoh. Kunwar Rái Singh, son of Rája Jai Singh, was sent to fetch Sulaimán Shukoh, * * and he brought him to Court on the 11th Jumáda-l awwal. He was led into the presence of the Emperor, who graciously took a lenient course, and ordered him to be sent prisoner to the fort of Gwálior, along with Muhammad Sultán, who had been confined in Salím-garh.

Season of Scarcity.

[vol. ii. p. 123.] Unfavourable seasons and want of rain, combined with war and movements of armies, had made grain very scarce and dear. Many districts lay entirely waste, and crowds of people from all parts made their way to the capital. Every

[1] "It was surrendered by its commandant named Ghálib, who had been appointed by 'Alí Mardan Khán."—*'Álamgír-náma*, p. 596.

street and *bazar* of the city was choked with poor helpless people, so that it was difficult for the inhabitants to move about An Imperial order was issued, that in addition to the regular *bulghúr-khánas*, where raw and cooked grain was given away, ten more *langar-khánas* (free houses of entertainment), should be opened in the city, and twelve *bulghur-khanas* in the suburbs and among the tombs, and careful men were appointed to superintend them Instructions were also issued for the *amirs* to make provision for *langar* distributions, and orders were given for the remission of taxes on (the transport of) grain, with the view of favouring the gathering of stores

Fourth Year of the Reign, 1071 A H (1661 A D)

[vol. ii. p 128] Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam married (in 1071 A H) the daughter of Rája Rúp Singh

Campaign of Khán-khánán Mu'azzam Khán (Mir Jumla) against Assam.

[vol ii p 130] The country of Áshám (Assam) lies to the east and north of Bengal between long ranges of hills Its length is nearly 100 *jaríbi kos*, and its width from the mountains on the north to those on the south side is eight days' journey It is said to be the native land of Pírán Waisiya,[1] the *wazir* of Afrásiyáb, and the Rája of the country traces his descent from this Pírán. In the beginning the Rájas were fire-worshippers, but in course of time they became identified with the idolators of Hind. * * It is the established practice in that country that every individual pays annually one *tola* of gold-dust to the government of the Rája. * * When the Rája of that country or a great *zamindár* dies, they dig a large tomb or apartment in the earth, and in it they place his wives and concubines, as also his horses and equipage, carpets, vessels of gold and silver, grain,

[1] See *suprà*, Vol VI p 554

etc., all such things as are used in that country, the jewels worn by wives and nobles, perfumes and fruit, sufficient to last for several days. These they call the provisions for his journey to the next world, and when they are all collected the door is closed upon them It was in consequence of this custom that the forces of Khán-khánán obtained such large sums of money from under ground The country of Kámrúp borders upon Assam, and the two countries are friendly For the last twenty years the people of this country had been refractory. They were in the habit of attacking the Imperial territories in the province of Bengal, and of carrying off the ryots and Musulmáns as prisoners. So great injury was done to life and property, and great scandal was cast upon the Muhammadan religion

Islám Khán, *Súbadár* of Bengal, led an army against the country in the reign of Sháh Jahán, but he was recalled and appointed to the office of *wazír* before the work was accomplished. Afterwards Shujá' went to seek refuge with the *Zamíndár* of Rakhang, who was one of the *zamíndars* of those parts, and his fate was never ascertained After Khán-khánán had settled the affairs of Dacca and other parts of Bengal, he resolved upon marching against Assam, and began to collect men and supplies for the campaign. When the Rája of Assam and the *Zamíndár* of Kúch Bihár, named Bhím Naráín, heard of this, they were greatly alarmed, and wrote penitent letters making submission and seeking forgiveness * * * These were forwarded to the Emperor, but orders were sent to Khán-khánán for the extermination of both of them. So he marched against that country with artillery, provisions for sieges, and a number of boats, which are of great importance for carrying on war in those parts. [*Long details of the campaign.*] Khán-khánán had the *khutba* read and money coined in the name of the Emperor He set aside the government of the Rája, and was desirous of pursuing him, but the rainy season was coming on, and in that country it lasts five months, and rains almost incessantly night and day * * Large quantities of gold and silver were obtained from the places of sepulture.

* * Khán-khánán left the commander of his artillery in the conquered fortress of Ghar-gánw to take charge of it, and to get his guns in order, for artillery is all-important in that country The Khán then retired thirty *kos* and a half from Ghar-gánw to Mathura-púr, which is situated at the foot of a hill, and is not liable to inundation There he found cantonments in which to pass the rainy season For seven or eight *kos* round he stationed outposts under experienced officers to guard against surprise by the Assamese The infidels repeatedly made attacks on dark nights, and killed many men and horses

FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, CORRESPONDING TO 1072 A H (1662 A D.)

[vol. ii. p. 154.] The fifth year of the reign began 1st Shawwál Soon after the celebration of the fifth anniversary, the Emperor was attacked by illness [1] In the course of a week the fact got noised about in the vicinity of the capital, where it interrupted the ordinary occupations of the people, and excited the hopes of the disaffected But His Majesty's health soon recovered, * * and on the 7th Jumáda-l awwal he started from Dehlí for Láhore on his way to Kashmir.

Murder of Prince Murád Bakhsh

[vol ii p 155] The author of the *'A'lamgir-nama* has given an account of the killing of Murád Bakhsh as suited his own pleasure (*marzi*) I now give my version of it as I have ascertained it from written records, and as I have heard it from the evidence of truthful men of the time, and from the mouth of my own father, who was a confidential servant of Murád Bakhsh, and until his services were no longer needed lived at the foot of the fort (of Gwálior), intent upon raising a rope-ladder (*kamand*) and

[1] See suprà, p 180

of rescuing his master, without even thinking of taking service under Aurangzeb. When Muhammad Bakhsh was sent to the fortress, a favourite concubine, named Sarsun Báí, was at his request allowed to accompany him The unfortunate prisoner used to give away half what was allowed him for his support in cooked food to the Mughals and Mughal woman who had followed him to his place of captivity, and lived in poverty at the foot of the fortress After many schemes had been proposed, the Mughals contrived a plan for fastening a rope-ladder to the ramparts at a given time and place. After the second watch of the night, before the world was asleep, Murád Bakhsh communicated his intended escape to Sarsun Báí, and promised to do his best to return and rescue her. On hearing this, Sarsun Báí began to weep and cry out in such a way that the guards heard what she said, and with lights and torches searched for and discovered the ladder When the plot was communicated to Aurangzeb, he felt some alarm for his throne At the instigation of some of the Emperor's friends, the sons of 'Alí Nakí, whom Murád Bakhsh had put to death, brought a charge of murder against him The eldest son refused to demand satisfaction for his father's death, but the second complied with the expressed wish, and brought a charge of murder in a court of law against Murád Bakhsh The case came at length before the Emperor, and he directed that it should be submitted to a judge After it had been decided according to law, the order was given in Rabí'u-s sání, 1072 A H, for the judge to go along with the heir of the slain man to Murád Bakhsh to pronounce the sentence of the law, upon the murder being proved The date of his death is found in the line *Ai wai ba-har bahánah kushtand,* "Alas and alas! on some pretext they killed him" His gracious Majesty rewarded the eldest son for not enforcing his claim of blood.

The Campaign in Assam.

[vol. ii p. 157] I now revert to the campaign of Khán-khánán in Assam. [*Long details of the sufferings of the troops*

from the constant attacks of the natives, from the rains and floods, from want of food, and from sickness and disease] The men of the army were reduced to such extremity that some of the officers, after consulting together, were about to move off and leave Khán-khánán He got information of this, and took measures to prevent it He gave public orders for the army to move its position towards that held by the Rája, but privately he prepared for a (backward) march, and comforted his men with prospects of peace and return When the Assamese got intelligence of the movement, they assembled in great numbers, and showed great insolence Diler Khán resolved to punish them, and thousands of them were slain and made prisoners. Khán-khánán ordered that the prisoners should have the heads of the slain tied round them, and be thus exposed to the derision of the camp. He then sent them to the outposts to be again exposed, and afterwards put to death * * The Rája at length consented to terms of peace He agreed to pay 120,000 *tolas* of silver, and 2000 *tolas* of gold, and to present fifty elephants and one of his ugly daughters to the Emperor He also agreed to present fifteen elephants and another daughter to Khán-khánán, together with some cash and goods It was further agreed that of the conquered places a few forts and towns in cultivated districts near the frontier of Bengal should be attached to the Imperial dominions * *

In the middle of Jumáda-l awwal, in the fifth year of the reign, the Khán khánán began his return march with an army broken down by disease, and with many of the officers and nobles at the point of death. The Khán-khánán himself was seriously ill, but he strove to the last in the service of his master Concealing his own suffering, or making light of it, he exerted himself night and day to direct and comfort his army, until he was overpowered by disease, and knew that the time of his departure was near He appointed certain of his officers to march against the Rája of Kúch Bihár, who had failed in keeping his engagements and paying tribute. Then

he spoke a few last words of kindly counsel, and died at Khizrpúr, on the frontiers of Kúch Bihár, on the 12th Ramazán, at the beginning of the sixth year of the reign.

SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1073 A.H (1663 A D)

Sivají surprises Sháyista Khán at Púna.

[vol ii p 171] The *Amíru-l umara* (Sháyista Khán), after taking several forts and strong places, proceeded to Púna, and lodged there in a house which had been built by that hell-dog Sivají From thence he sent out detachments to destroy the power of Sivají, and to make him prisoner A regulation had been made that no person, especially no Mahratta, should be allowed to enter the city or the lines of the army without a pass, whether armed or unarmed, excepting persons in the Imperial service. No Mahratta horseman was taken into the service Sivají, beaten and dispirited, had retired into mountains difficult of access, and was continually changing his position. One day a party of Mahrattas, who were serving as foot-soldiers, went to the *kotwal*, and applied for a pass to admit 200 Mahrattas, who were accompanying a marriage party A boy dressed up as a bridegroom, and escorted by a party of Mahrattas with drums and music, entered the town early in the evening. On the same day another party was allowed to enter the town on the report that a number of the enemy had been made prisoners at one of the outposts, and that another party was bringing them in pinioned and bare-headed, holding them by ropes and abusing and reviling them as they went along. They proceeded to the place agreed upon, where the whole party met and put on arms At midnight they went to the cook-house, which was near the women's apartments. Between the two there was a small window stopped up with mud and bricks They proceeded by a way well known to them, and got into the kitchen. It was the month of the fast. Some of the cooks were awake, and busy in

preparing the vessels for cooking, and others were asleep. The assailants approached noiselessly, and, as far as they were able, they attacked and killed unawares those who were awake. Those who were asleep they butchered as they lay So no great alarm was raised They then quickly set to work about opening the closed window in the palace. The noise of their pickaxes and the cries of the slaughtered men awoke a servant who was sleeping in a room next to the wall of the cook-house He went to the *Amíru-l umará* (Sháyista Khán), and informed him of what he had heard The *Amír* scolded him, and said that it was only the cooks who had got up to do their work. Some maid-servants then came, one after another, to say that a hole was being made through the wall The *Amír* then jumped up in great alarm, and seized a bow, some arrows, and a spear Just then some Mahrattas came up in front, and the *Amír* shot one with an arrow, but he got up to the *Amír*, and cut off his thumb Two Mahrattas fell into a reservoir of water, and *Amíru-l umara* brought down another with his spear In the midst of the confusion two slave-girls took Sháyista Khán, *Amíru-l umará*, by the hand, and dragged him from the scene of strife to a place of safety A number of Mahrattas got into the guard-house, and killed every one they found on his pillow, whether sleeping or awake, and said "This is how they keep watch!" Some men got into the *nakar-khana*, and in the name of the *Amíru-l umara* ordered the drums to be beaten, so such a din was raised that one man could not hear another speak, and the noise made by the assailants grew higher They closed the doors. Abú-l Fath Khán, son of Sháyista Khán, a brave young man, rushed forward and killed two or three men, but was himself wounded and killed. A man of importance, who had a house behind the palace of the *Amíru-l umará*, hearing the outcry, and finding the doors shut, endeavoured to escape by a rope-ladder from a window, but he was old and feeble, and somewhat resembled Sháyista Khán. The Mahrattas mistook him for the *Amíru-l umara*, killed him and cut off his head They also attacked two of the *Amír's* women

One of them was so cut about that her remains were collected in a basket which served for her coffin. The other recovered, although she had received thirty or forty wounds The assailants gave no thought to plundering, but made their way out of the house and went off.

In the morning Rája Jaswant, who was commander of *Amíru-l umará's* supports, came in to see the *Amír*, and make his apology, but that high-born noble spoke not a word beyond saying, "I thought the Mahárája was in His Majesty's service when such an evil befell me." When this occurrence was reported to the Emperor, he passed censure both upon the *Amír* and Rája Jaswant The *Súbadárí* of the Dakhin and the command of the forces employed against Sivají was given to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam The *Amíru-l umara* was recalled, but a subsequent order sent him to be *Súbadar* of Bengal Mahárája Jaswant was continued as before among the auxiliary forces under the Prince.

SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1074 A H (1664 A D)

[Text, vol ii p 177] Despatches arrived from Prince Mu'azzam to the effect that Sivají was growing more and more daring, and every day was attacking and plundering the Imperial territories and caravans He had seized the ports of Jíwal, Pábal[1] and others near Surat, and attacked the vessels of pilgrims bound to Mecca. He had built several forts by the sea-shore, and had entirely interrupted maritime intercourse. He had also struck copper coins (*sikka-i pul*) and *huns* in the fort of Ráj-garh. Mahárája Jaswant had endeavoured to suppress him, but without avail. Rája Jai Sing [*and many other nobles*] were sent to join the armies fighting against him.

[1] See suprà, p 256

Eighth Year of the Reign, 1075 A H (1665 A D)

War in the Dakhin Surrender of Sivají.

Rája Jai Singh proceeded to his command and paid his respects to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam at Aurangábád He then went to Púna, and having arranged the affairs of that district, he employed himself in distributing the forces under his command to ravage the country and attack the forts of the enemy He himself proceeded to attack the forts of Púrandhar and Rúdar Mál,[1] two of the most noted fortresses in the country, which had formerly belonged to Nizámu-l Mulk. The two forts were close to each other Diler Khán was sent on in command of the advanced force * * Diler Khán began the siege, and both the forts were invested The garrison made a vigorous defence * * Jai Singh arrived with his son Kesar Singh * * After a bastion had been blown up on one side, a panic seized the defenders of the foot of the hill The besiegers then attacked them and succeeded in making their way to the top of the hill, when the defenders called for quarter, which was granted to them by the Rája and Diler Khán The two commandants waited upon Diler Khán, and were sent to the Rája, who disarmed the garrison, and took possession of the forts Eighty men, horsemen, infantry and sappers, were lost in the siege, and more than a hundred were wounded.

After the conquest of the two forts, Rája Jai Singh sent Dáúd Khán and * * with seven thousand horse to plunder and lay waste the country which Sivají had won by force and violence Great efforts were made on both sides, and for five months the Imperial forces never rested from harassing and fighting the enemy. At Sívápúr, which was built by Sivají, and at the forts of Kandána[2] and Kanwárí-garh, not one trace of cultivation was

[1] The text calls them "Púndhar and Rúd-mál" Púrandhar is about twenty miles south-east of Púna, and Rúdar Mál was one of its outworks See Grant Duff, vol i pp 204, 207

[2] Now called Singarh, eight miles south of Púna —Grant Duff, vol i p 62

left, and cattle out of number were taken. But on the other hand, the sudden attacks by the enemy, their brilliant successes, their assaults in dark nights, their seizure of the roads and difficult passes, and the firing of the jungles full of trees, severely tried the Imperial forces, and men and beasts in great numbers perished But the enemy also had suffered great losses, and took to flight The fort of Rájgarh,[1] which Sivají himself held, and the fort of Kandána in which were his wife and his maternal relations, were both invested, and the besiegers pressed the garrisons hard The roads on all sides were blockaded, and Sivají knew that, however much he might desire it, he could not rescue his family and carry them to a place of safety He also knew that if these strongholds were taken, his wife and family would be liable to suffer the consequences of his own evil deeds. Accordingly he sent some intelligent men to Rája Jai Singh, begging forgiveness of his offences, promising the surrender of several forts which he still held, and proposing to pay a visit to the Rája But the Rája, knowing well his craft and falsehood, gave directions for pressing the attack more vigorously, until the intelligence was brought that Sivají had come out of the fortress Some confidential Bráhmans now came from him, and confirmed his expressions of submission and repentance with the most stringent oaths

The Rája promised him security for his life and honour, upon condition of his going to wait on the Emperor, and of agreeing to enter into his service He also promised him the grant of a high *mansab*, and made preparations for suitably receiving him Sivají then approached with great humility. The Rája sent his *munshí* to receive him, and he also sent some armed *Rájpúts* to provide against treachery The *munshí* carried a message to say that if Sivají submitted frankly, gave up his forts, and consented to show obedience, his petition for forgiveness would be granted by the Emperor If he did not accept these terms, he had better

[1] Three miles S E of Torna, and about fifteen from Púna.—Grant Duff, vol i p 132

return and prepare to renew the war When Sivají received the message, he said with great humility that he knew his life and honour were safe if he made his submission The Rája then sent a person of higher rank to bring him in with honour.

When Sivají entered, the Rája arose, embraced him, and seated him near himself Sivají then, with a thousand signs of shame, clasped his hands and said, 'I have come as a guilty slave to seek forgiveness, and it is for you either to pardon or to kill me at your pleasure I will make over my great forts, with the country of the Kokan, to the Emperor's officers, and I will send my son to enter the Imperial service As for myself, I hope that after the interval of one year, when I have paid my respects to the Emperor, I may be allowed, like other servants of the State, who exercise authority in their own provinces, to live with my wife and family in a small fort or two. Whenever and wherever my services, are required, I will, on receiving orders, discharge my duty loyally" The Rája cheered him up, and sent him to Diler Khán

After directions had been given for the cessation of the siege, seven thousand persons, men, women and children, came out of the fort All that they could not carry away became the property of the Government, and the fort was taken possession of by the forces Diler Khán presented Sivají with a sword, and * *. He then took him back to the Rája, who presented him with a robe, * * and renewed his assurances of safety and honourable treatment Sivají, with ready tact, bound on the sword in an instant, and promised to render faithful service When the question about the time Sivají was to remain under parole, and of his return home, came under consideration, Rája Jai Singh wrote to the Emperor, asking forgiveness for Sivají and the grant of a robe to him, and awaited instructions. * * A mace-bearer arrived with the *farman* and a robe, * * and Sivají was overjoyed at receiving forgiveness and honour

A discussion then arose about the forts, and it was finally settled that out of the thirty-five forts which he possessed, the

keys of twenty-three should be given up, with their revenues, amounting to ten *lacs* of *huns*, or forty *lacs* of rupees. Twelve small forts, with moderate revenues,[1] were to remain in the possession of Sivají's people Sambhá his son, a boy of eight years old, in whose name a *mansab* of 5000 had been granted at Rája Jai Singh's suggestion, was to proceed to Court with the Rája, attended by a suitable retinue Sivají himself, with his family, was to remain in the hills, and endeavour to restore the prosperity of his ravaged country Whenever he was summoned on Imperial service, he was to attend On his being allowed to depart, he received a robe, horse, and * *

Death of Shah Jahan

[vol ii p 186] It now became known that the *Sahib Kiran-i sani* (Sháh Jahán) was very ill, and that his life was drawing to a close. Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was immediately sent off in haste to visit him, but he received the intelligence of his (grandfather's) death while on his way He died [2] at the end of Rajab 1076 A H (22nd Jan 1666), in the eighth year of the reign of Aurangzeb, who grieved much over his death. Sháh Jahán reigned thirty-one years, and he was secluded and under restraint nearly eight years [3]

[vol. ii p 188] Among the events of this year was the subjugation of Sangrám-nagar and Chátgám near Arracan The *zamindárs* of these places had shaken off their allegiance, but Ummed Khán, eldest son of Sháyista Khan, *Amiru-l umara*, defeated them. * * The name of Sangrám-nagar was changed to 'Álamgír-nagar, and that of Chátgám to Islámábád.

[1] See their names in Grant Duff, vol i p 209

[2] "On the 26th Rajab, in the fort of Agra, having thus entered the seventy-fifth solar year of his age"—*'Amal-i Salih*

[3] "Seven years five months and eighteen days The date of his death is found in the words *Shah Jahán kard wafat*"—*Shah Jahan-nama* of Sádik Khán

NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1076 A H (1666 A D)

Sivají at the Imperial Court

[Text, vol ii p 189] Rája Jai Singh, in the war with Bíjápúr, to be described presently, had, with the co operation of Sivají, done splendid service After giving Sivají every assurance of a kind and gracious reception, he made himself responsible for his safety, and sent him to Court News of Sivají's arrival was brought as the festival of the accession was being celebrated It was ordered that Kunwar Rám Singh, son of Rája Jai Singh, with Mukhlis Khán, should go out to meet and conduct that evil malicious fellow into Ágra On the 18th Zi-l ka'da, 1076, Sivají, and his son of nine years old, had the honour of being introduced to the Emperor He made an offering of 500 *ashrafis* and 6000 rupees, altogether 30,000 rupees By the royal command he was placed in the position of a *panj hazari* But his son, a boy of eight years, had privately been made a *panj-hazari*, and Nathují, one of his relations, who had rendered great service to Rája Jai Singh in his campaign against Bíjápúr, had been advanced to the same dignity, so that Sivají had a claim to nothing less than the dignity of a *haft-hazari* (7000) Rája Jai Singh had flattered Sivají with promises, but as the Rája knew the Emperor to have a strong feeling against Sivají, he artfully refrained from making known the promises he had held out The *istikbal*, or reception of Sivají, had not been such as he expected He was annoyed,[1] and so, before the robe and jewels and elephant, which were ready for presentation to him, could be presented, he complained to Rám Singh that he was disappointed. The Kunwar tried to pacify him, but without effect When his disrespectful bearing came to the knowledge of the Emperor, he was dismissed with little ceremony, without receiving any mark of the Imperial bounty, and was taken to a house outside the city near to the house of Rája Jai Singh, as had been arranged by Kunwar Rám

[1] Three lines of the text are compressed into these three words

Singh A letter was sent to Rája Jai Singh, informing him of what had passed, and Sivají was forbidden to come to the Royal presence until the Rája's answer and advice should arrive His son was ordered to attend the presence in the company of Rám Singh

Campaign against Bíjápúr

[Text, vol ii. p 191] Rája Jai Singh, with Diler Khán and his other associates, in obedience to orders, marched against Bíjápúr He took with him, as guides and assistants, Mullá Yahyá Bíjápúrí, Purdil Khán, Sivají, and Nathují, one of Sivají's relations, who was his chief supporter, and for whom also a *mansab* of 5000 had been proposed His force amounted on paper (*kalami*) to 33,000 horse, but he had with him 25,000 Abú-l Majd, grandson of Bahlol Khán, and one of the bravest of the nobles of Bíjápúr, separated from 'Ádil Khán, and joined Rája Jai Singh, whom he assisted in subduing that country. The Rája acted in all matters upon his advice, and he wrote to the Emperor recommending that a *mansab* of 5000 and 4000 horse should be settled upon him, which request was graciously acceded to Forts belonging to Bíjápúr were taken by storm, or after a few days' siege, in all directions Sivají and Nathují, with two thousand horse and eight or nine thousand infantry, showed great skill in taking forts, and won much fame In the course of three or four weeks three forts, Mangal-pahra and others, were taken. [*Severe fighting.*]

At length, after two months' fighting, the Imperial forces came to five *kos* distance from Bíjápúr On the 2nd Rajab they began the investment of the city 'Ádil Khán, being now closed in, directed his generals to enter the Imperial territory and lay it waste Others were sent to oppose the Rája and attack his baggage The embankments of the tanks were cut, poisonous matters and carrion were thrown into the wells, the trees and lofty buildings near the fortress were destroyed, spikes were fixed

in the ground, and the gardens and houses on both sides of the city were so destroyed that not a trace of culture was left near the city * * Khwája Neknám, a eunuch, joined Sharza Khán, the commander of 'Ádil Khán's army, with a reinforcement of 6000 horse and 25,000 infantry, from Kutbu-l Mulk Every day there was severe fighting, and the men and animals which went out from the Imperial army to forage were cut off Diler Khán was present wherever danger was, but to recount all the combats which were fought would be long and tedious * *

Sivají, with Nathují and several thousand Imperial horse, had been sent to reduce the fort of Parnála,[1] but after making some bold movements, he was obliged to relinquish the attempt, and proceeded to Khelna,[2] one of his own forts Nathújí, who had been corrupted by some of the Bíjápúr chiefs, separated from Sivají, and went off along with them. The Rája called Sivají to him, and treated him very courteously At length, by the active exertions and clever management of Sivají, several forts came into the possession of the royal forces In accordance with Sivají's own desire, and in performance of the promise made to him, under the Imperial orders he was sent off express with his son at the end of the month of Ramazán to Court After the departure of Sivají, the siege of Bíjápúr was carried on for two months and a half longer, and there were many hard fights under the walls * *

At the end of Zí-l ka'da the siege had gone on for eight months, during which neither cavalry nor infantry had rested All round Bíjápúr for forty or fifty *kos* not a trace of grass or fodder was left No supplies arrived, so the Imperial armies were reduced to great straits The Rája and Diler Khán therefore deemed it advisable to remove to the neighbourhood of Dhárúr, to have their wounded tended, to give rest to their troops, and to

[1] "Near Kolápúr"—Text, vol i p 383 It lies about twelve miles N W, and is marked in the maps as "Panála"

[2] Khelna is now called Vishalgarh —Grant Duff, vol i p 177 See also Thornton, *s v* "Vishalgurh" It lies in the Ghats, about 60 miles N W of Kolápúr When the Muhammadans took it, they gave it the name of Sakhralna See post.

collect lead and powder. They also hoped to obtain there supplies of fodder and corn. A despatch to this effect was sent off to the Emperor The Dakhinís also, inside the fortress, found their provisions drawing to an end, and their weapons expended or damaged. Both besiegers and besieged were therefore anxious for an arrangement. * * When the despatch reached the Emperor, he issued an order directing his generals to cease operations against 'Ádil Khán Rája Jai Singh was directed to proceed to Aurangábád, and Diler Khán was recalled to Court

Sivají's Escape.

[vol. ii p 198.] After Sivají returned angry and disappointed from the royal presence to his house, orders were given to the *kotwal* to place guards round it.[1] Sivají, reflecting upon his former deeds and his present condition, was sadly troubled by the state of his affairs. He thought of nothing else but of delivering himself by some crafty plan from his perilous position His subtle mind was not long in contriving a scheme. From the beginning he kept up a show of friendship and intimacy with the *amirs*, and with Kunwar Rám Singh He sent them presents of Dakhin products, and, by expressing contrition for his past conduct, he won them over to advocate the acceptance of his shame and repentance.

Afterwards he feigned to be ill, and groaned and sighed aloud Complaining of pains in the liver and spleen, he took to his bed, and, as if prostrated with consumption or fever, he sought remedies from the physicians. For some time he carried on this artifice. At length he made known his recovery He sent presents to his doctors and attendants, food to the Bráhmans, and presents of grain and money to needy Musulmáns and Hindús For this purpose he had provided

[1] The *'Álamgír-náma*, p 970, says that Sambhá-jí received a good deal of notice from the Emperor, and that upon a letter of remonstrance arriving from Rája Jai Singh, the guards were removed from Sivají's dwelling

large baskets covered with paper These, being filled with sweetmeats of all sorts, were sent to the houses of the *amirs* and the abodes of *fakirs*. Two or three swift horses were procured, and, under the pretence of being presents to Bráhmans, they were sent to a place appointed fourteen *kos* from the city, in charge of some of his people, who were privy to his plans A devoted companion, who resembled him in height and figure, took his place upon the couch, and Sivají's gold ring was placed upon his hand He was directed to throw a piece of fine muslin over his head, but to display the ring he wore upon his hand, and when any one came in, to feign to be asleep Sivají, with his son, got into two baskets, and were carried out, it being pretended that the baskets contained sweetmeats intended for the *brahmans* and *fakirs* of Mathurá

Thus, on the last day of Safar, Sivají got out of Ágra, and proceeded to where his horses were posted Thence, in the course of two watches, he reached Mathurá There he shaved off his beard and whiskers, and smeared his own and his son's face with ashes, and, taking with him some jewels and gold, he went off with some of his confederates, who were also disguised as *fakirs* He crossed the Jumna at an unfrequented ferry, and proceeded towards Benares, travelling in the night, and being guided by some swift Dakhiní runners, whose business is to disguise themselves and travel in all directions. It is said that they carried sufficient money and jewels for their wants in hollow walking-sticks.

On the following day, at the fifth watch, a Dakhiní runner, employed as a spy, brought information that Sivají had got free and was making off The *kotwal* was directed to make inquiry, but he replied that the guards were at their posts round the house Another spy confidently reported his escape The *kotwal's* men went to see, and they saw as they thought Sivají asleep under his thin covering, and his ring distinctly visible The *kotwal* reported accordingly. A third spy now strongly asseverated that Sivají had escaped, and was forty or fifty *kos* away A

closer investigation revealed the fact of his escape. The *kotwal* and Kunwar Rám Singh were censured, and as Rám Singh was suspected of having prompted the evasion, he was deprived of his *mansab* and forbidden to come to Court. Orders were sent to the provincial governors, and to the officials in all directions, to search for Sivají, and to seize him and send him to the Emperor.

Rája Jai Singh, who just at this time had retired from Bíjápúr, and had arrived at Aurangábád, received orders to arrest Nathújí before the escape of Sivají became public, and to send him to Court. After that he was to watch carefully for the bird escaped from the cage, and not suffer him to re-establish himself in his old haunts and to gather his followers around him. * * It is said that Sivají made such expedition in his flight that no courier could have overtaken him. But his son Sambhá, a boy of tender years, was with him, and he suffered so much from the rapid motion, that Sivají left him behind at Alláhábád, in charge of a Bráhman, a man of high repute in that place, whose relations in the Dakhin had been closely connected with Sivají's father. Sivají placed a sum of money with the Bráhman and commended the boy to his care. He was not to part from him until he received a letter in Sivají's own hand, and if he obtained certain intelligence of Sivají's death, he was to act as he deemed best.

Siege of Bíjápúr raised.

Rája Jai Singh, in obedience to orders, raised the siege of Bíjápúr. Knowing that the forts which he had taken could not be held after his departure, through want of provisions on the inside, against the swarms of Dakhinís outside, he resolved to abandon them. He took out of them such guns as he could carry away. Then he gave the forts up to plunder, and afterwards set fire to them, and blew up the strong towers and walls. Then he proceeded to Aurangábád. Information now reached him of the flight of Sivají, and, in obedience to the Imperial command,

he arrested Nathújí and his son, and sent them to Court * * On arriving there, Nathújí was ordered to be kept under close surveillance. Seeing no other chance of escape, he expressed a wish to become a Musulmán, which greatly pleased the Emperor. So he was initiated, and received a *mansab* of three thousand and two thousand horse, with the title of Muhammad Kulí Khán After some time, when he returned to the Dakhin with reinforcements for Diler Khán, he recanted, and seized an opportunity to join Sivají

TENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1077 A H (1667 A D)

[Text, vol ii p 207] Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was appointed *Súbadar* of the Dakhin, * * and intelligence reached the Court of the death of Rája Jai Singh

ELEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1078 A.H. (1668 A D)

[Text, vol ii p. 211] After the expiration of ten years (of the reign), authors were forbidden to write the events of this just and righteous Emperor's reign Nevertheless some competent persons (did write), and particularly Musta'idd Khán, who secretly wrote an abridged account of the campaign in the Dakhin, simply detailing the conquests of the countries and forts, without alluding at all to the misfortunes of the campaign, and Bindrában, who wrote an abridged account of the events of some years of the second and third decades But I have neither seen nor obtained any history that contains a full and detailed account of the forty remaining years of the reign Consequently, from the eleventh to the twenty-first year of the Emperor's reign, I have not been able to relate the events in the order in which they occurred, giving the month and year, but after this year, with very great labour and pains, I collected information from the papers in the public offices, and by inquiry made from truthful persons, the confidential and old servants of the Emperor and

old eunuchs This, and whatsoever I myself observed, after attaining years of discretion, for thirty or forty years, I laid up in the strong box (of my memory), and that I have written And since I heard that Bindrában Dás Bahádur Sháhí, who was long a *mutasaddi* of Sháh 'Álam during the time he was a prince, had compiled a history, and had included in it an account of upwards of thirty years, being exceedingly anxious to see it, I made great search for it. Subsequently when, after great trouble, I obtained a copy, and examined it carefully from beginning to end, in the hope that I might gather the rich fruits of his labours, I discovered that his work did not contain one-half of what I had collected and included in my own history.[1]

The King of happy disposition strove earnestly from day to day to put in force the rules of the Law, and to maintain the Divine commands and prohibitions Orders were also issued prohibiting the collection of the *ráhdárí*, the *pándarí*, and other imposts which brought in *lacs* of rupees to the State Prohibitions were promulgated against intoxicating drinks, against taverns and brothels, and against the meetings called *játras* or fairs, at which on certain dates countless numbers of Hindus, men and women of every tribe, assemble at their idol temples—when *lacs* of rupees change hands in buying and selling, and from which large sums accrue to the provincial treasuries The minstrels and singers of reputation in the service of the Court were made ashamed of their occupation, and were advanced to the dignities of *mansabs* Public proclamations were made prohibiting singing and dancing. It is said that one day a number of singers and minstrels gathered together with great cries, and having fitted up a bier with a good deal of display, round which were grouped the public wailers, they passed under the Emperor's *jharokha-i darsan*, or interview-window. When he inquired what was intended by the bier and the show, the minstrels said that Music was dead, and they were carrying his

[1] See Col Lees, in *Journ Roy As Soc* N S vol III p 471

corpse for burial Aurangzeb then directed them to place it deep in the ground, that no sound or cry might afterwards arise from it

In the reigns of former kings, and up to this year, the *jharokha-i darsan* had been a regular institution Although the King might be suffering from bodily indisposition, he went to the *jharokha* once or twice a day at stated times, and put his head out of the window to show that he was safe This window, at Ágra and at Dehlí, was constructed on the side looking towards the Jumna Besides the nobles in attendance at the Court, hundreds of thousands of men and women of all classes used to collect under the *jharokha* and offer their blessings and praises Many Hindús were known by the name of *darsani*, for until they had seen the person of the King at the window, they put not a morsel of food into their mouths His religious Majesty looked upon this as among the forbidden and unlawful practices, so he left off sitting in the window, and forbade the assembling of the crowd beneath it

[Twelfth Year of the Reign] [1]

Escape of Sivají

[Text, vol ii p 217] Sivají left Mathurá after changing his clothes and shaving off his beard and whiskers, carrying with him his youthful son and forty or fifty individuals, servants and dependents, who all smeared their faces with ashes, and assumed the appearance of Hindú mendicants. The valuable jewels and the gold *mohurs* and the *huns* they carried with them were concealed in walking sticks, which had been hollowed out for the purpose, and were covered at the top with knobs Some was sewed up in old slippers, and the wearers, pretending to be Hindú mendicants of three different classes, *Bairagis*, *Gosains*, and *Udásis*, proceeded by way of Alláhábád to Benares One very valuable diamond with some

[1] This does not appear in the text

rubies was encased in wax, and concealed in the dress of one of his followers, and other jewels were placed in the mouths of other attendants.

So they proceeded until they reached a place of which the *faujdar*, 'Alí Kulí Khán, had received private and public notice of Sivají's escape. The *faujdar*, knowing of the escape of Sivají, on hearing of the arrival of these three parties of Hindú devotees, ordered them all to be placed in confinement, and an inquiry to be made. All these men and some other travellers remained in confinement a night and a day On the second night Sivají, at the second watch of the night, proceeded alone to the *faujdar* in private, and acknowledged that he was Sivají But, said he, "I have two gems, a diamond and a ruby of great value, with more than a *lac* of rupees. If you secure me and send me back a prisoner, or if you cut off my head and forward that, the two priceless jewels will be lost to you Here am I, and here is my head, but still, keep off thine hand from wretched me in this dangerous strait" 'Alí Kulí preferred the ready bribe to the hope of the reward which might afterwards accrue to him He took the two valuable jewels, and on the following morning, after making inquiries, he released all the devotees and travellers from custody

Sivají, looking upon his escape as a new lease of life, hastened to pursue his journey in the direction of Benares He himself in rapid travelling and walking beat even the regular runners, but after reaching Alláhábád, his young son Sambhá, who accompanied him, was foot-sore and worn out. Sivají therefore at Benares gave a quantity of jewels and money, and placed his boy in the charge of a Bráhman, named Kabkalas,[1] who was the hereditary family priest of his family, and who happened at that time to be at Benares. Sivají promised that if he reached home alive, he would write to the Bráhman, who was then to conduct the boy to his father by the road and in the manner prescribed in the letter. He warned him against listening to the wishes of

1 کبکلس

the boy, or attending to letters from his mother. Having thus provided for the care of his boy, he continued his flight, * * and he had hardly entered Benares before the government messengers brought the news of Sivají's escape. * * Sivají then continued his flight by way of Bihár, Patna and Chánda, which is a thickly-wooded country and difficult of passage Every place he came to, he and his followers changed their disguises, and so passed on from place to place secretly till he reached Haidarábád, and came to 'Abdu-llah Kutbu-l Mulk There he told such stories and used such arts and wiles to forward his purpose that he deceived 'Abdu-llah Sháh.

Conquests of Sivají.

[vol ii p 220] Sundry forts which had belonged to the Kutb-Sháhi kings had passed into the hands of the 'Ádil-Sháhís Sivají had a great reputation for skill in the reduction of forts, and he swore to 'Abdu-lla Sháh, that if he would supply him with forces and the means for conducting sieges, he would in a short time wrest these forts from the Bíjápúrís, and hand them over to the officers appointed to accompany him, he would not even accept some forts which had belonged to himself, and were in the possession of the officers of Aurangzeb, if he recovered them by the means supplied him He vowed also that for the remainder of his life he would remain the devoted servant and adherent of 'Abdu-lla Sháh The ultimate objects of the arch deceiver never entered into the consideration of 'Abdu-llah Sháh He provided a sufficient force and a suitable siege train, and he appointed to it several officers acquainted with siege operations, whom he enjoined to serve heartily in obedience to and in accord with Sivaji

Sivají, with the force placed under his command, marched on his enterprise By fraud and stratagem, and by his marvellous skill in the conduct of sieges, every fort that he approached fell into his hands after a few days' investment He cajoled the officers who had been sent with him to take charge of the cap-

tured forts, with plausible statements, with promises of giving them the command of more important places, and by using the money and property he had obtained from the captured strongholds So he carried them with him to other forts, and in a short time he reduced Sattára, Parnála, and ten or twelve other renowned forts belonging to Bíjápúr, which it would have taken years and *lacs* of expense to conquer. He then marched against Rájgarh, and other forts which had been captured by Rája Jai Singh, Diler Khán, and other Imperial generals, the keys of which he himself had surrendered Having mastered them all, he placed one or two of them in charge of the officers of 'Abdu-llah Sháh.

According to common report, and the oral statements of men of Haidarábád, Sivají came to that city in the first or second year of the reign of Abú-l Hasan, and succeeded in wheedling and satisfying that sovereign When he had finished his fortress-taking, according to his wont, he took up his abode at Rájgarh, and there again raised the standard of rebellion In the days when the fortifications of the port of Surat were not yet completed, he attacked and took the place[1] There he obtained an immense booty in gold and silver, coined and uncoined, and in the stuffs of Kashmír, Ahmadábád, and other places He also made prisoners of some thousand Hindú men and women of name and station, and Musulmáns of honourable position *Krors* in money and goods thus came into the hands of that evil infidel

Aurangzeb, on being informed of the capture and plunder of Surat, ordered that the fortifications of that port should be completed; and he placed Diler Khán and Khán-Jahán in command of an army to punish Sivají It is said that Sivají got together some ten or twelve thousand Kachh and Arab horses, so that when he sent out an army most of the horsemen were *bárgírs*, i e they rode horses belonging to him. He rebuilt the

[1] This was in the thirteenth year of the reign, 1081 A H (1671 A D), according to the *Ma-ásir-i 'Alamgíri*

forts which had formerly stood on the sea-shore, and he constructed also vessels of war, which were kept under the guns of the fortress. With these vessels he attacked and plundered ships which were proceeding to Europe and to Mecca

When Sivají had satisfied himself of the security of Rájgarh, his old retreat, and of the dependent territory, he turned his thoughts towards finding some other more inaccessible hill as a place for his abode After diligent search he fixed upon the hill of Ráhírí,[1] a very high and strong place. The ascent of this place was three *kos*, and it was situated twenty-four *kos* from the sea, but an inlet of the sea was about seven *kos* from the foot of the hill The road to Surat passed near the place, and that port was ten or twelve stages distant by land Rájgarh was four or five stages off The hills are very lofty and difficult of ascent Rain falls there for about five months in the year The place was a dependency of the Kokan, belonging to Nizámu-l Mulk Having fixed on the spot, he set about building his fort When the gates and bastions and walls were complete and secure, he removed thither from Rájgarh, and made it his regular residence After the guns were mounted, and the place made safe, he closed all the roads around, leaving only one leading to his fortress One day he called an assembly, and having placed a bag of gold and a gold bracelet worth a hundred *pagodas* before the people, he ordered proclamation to be made that this would be given to any one who would ascend to the fort, and plant a flag, by any other than the appointed road, without the aid of ladder or rope A *Dher* came forward, and said that with the permission of the *Raja* he would mount to the top of the hill, plant the flag, and return He ascended the hill, fixed the flag, quickly came down again, and made his obeisance. Sivají ordered that the purse of money and the gold bracelet should be given to him, and that he should be set at liberty, and he gave directions for closing the way by which the *Dher* had ascended.

[1] The name was afterwards changed to Ráí-garh It lies due east of Jinjera —See Grant Duff, vol. i p 190

At the first, Ráhírí was attached to the Kokan, and belonged to Nizámu-l Mulk. Afterwards this country and several of the dependencies of Bíjápúr passed into the possession of the Emperor Sháh Jahán. When the Imperial government became friendly with Bíjápúr, the Kokan, which had belonged to Nizámu-l Mulk, was granted to 'Ádil Sháh in exchange for *territory newly acquired by Bíjápúr* Fath Khán, an Afghán, was appointed governor of the country on the part of Bíjápúr, and he posted himself in the fort of Dandá-Rájpúrí,[1] which is situated half in the sea and half on land. Subsequently he built the fort of Jazíra[2] upon an island in the sea, about a cannon-shot distant from Dandá-Rájpúrí, in a very secure position, so that, if the governor of the country was hard pressed by an enemy, he might have a secure retreat in that place.

After Sivají had fixed his abode at Ráhírí, which is twenty *kos* from Dandá-Rájpúrí, he appointed a commandant of that fortress In a short time, he reduced and occupied seven other forts, small and great, in that neighbourhood, and then resolved upon the conquest of Dandá-Rájpúrí. Fath Khán had observed the triumphant progress of Sivají, and how fortress after fortress had fallen into his hands So Fath Khán lost courage, he abandoned Dandá-Rájpúrí, and retired to the island fortress in the sea. Sivají then resolved to effect the conquest of the island also, and he so conducted matters that Fath Khán was soon reduced to extremities, and he offered to surrender the place to Sivají, upon a pledge of security to himself and the garrison.

Fath Khán had in his service three Abyssinian slaves, Sídí Sambal, Sídí Yákút, and Sídí Khairiyat, each of whom had ten Abyssinian slaves, which he had trained and drilled. The management of the island and of many domestic concerns was in the hands of these Abyssinians. These three men got infor-

[1] See *suprà* p 256

[2] *Jazíra*, the island, but it is more commonly known under the Marathi form "Jinjera"

mation of the enemy's power, and of Fath Khán's intention of surrendering the island to Sivají. They took counsel together, and resolved that no good could come from allowing the island to pass into the hands of any infidel So they determined to take Fath Khán prisoner, and to make Sídí Sambal governor of the fortress In the fourteenth year of the reign these Abyssinians seized Fath Khán unawares, placed chains upon his legs, and wrote a statement of the facts to 'Ádil Sháh Bíjápúrí They also wrote to Khán-Jahán, the *Subadar* of the Dakhin, begging the aid of the Imperial forces, and requesting him to send his forces by sea from Surat. Khán-Jahán graciously bestowed *mansabs* and presents on each of the three Abyssinians.

Khán-Jahán also took measures to thwart the designs of Sivají He got together some ships at the fortress (of Surat), and began the rebuilding which had been ordered Then he collected some ships of war with the intention of taking a cruise One night he attacked the vessels of Sivají which lay near the fort of Dandá-Rájpúrí, and captured them with two hundred sailors trained for warlike work One hundred of them were Mahrattas, and had lately been appointed to this duty by Sivají Stones were tied to the feet of these men, and they were thrown into the sea From that day forth the animosity between the Abyssinians and Sivají grew more violent Sivají collected forty or fifty vessels of war to defend the forts of Kalába and Gandírí, which were the strongest of his newly-built forts on the sea-shore He then turned his thoughts to the reduction of the fort of Jazíra (Jinjera), and the capture of the Abyssinians. There were frequent naval fights between the opposing forces, in which the Abyssinians were often victorious

Sídí Sambal was advanced to a *mansab* of 900, and then he died Before he expired he made Sídí Yákút his successor, and enjoined all the other Abyssinians to pay him a loyal and cheerful obedience Sídí Yákút was distinguished among his people for courage, benignity and dignity. He now strove more than ever to collect ships of war, to strengthen the fortress,

and to ward off naval attacks He was armed and ready night and day. He frequently captured ships of the enemy, and cut off the heads of many Mahrattas, and sent them to Surat He used to write reports to Khán-Jahán, and he frequently received marks of approbation from him He was constantly revolving in his mind plans for wresting the fort of Dandá-Rájpúrí from the hands of Sivají He got together some rockets,[1] which he fastened to trees, and discharged them at night against the fort

Sivají also was prosecuting his plans for the reduction of Jazíra. But he now retired to a dwelling about three *kos* to celebrate the *holi*, leaving in command at Rájpúrí some officers experienced in siege work, to prosecute incessantly the operations against Jazíra during his absence, and he held out to them the reward of a *man* of gold and other presents One night, while the garrison of Dandá-Rájpúrí were celebrating the *holi*, and were intoxicated or inattentive, Sídí Yákút sent on shore four or five hundred men under Sídí Khairiyat with ropes, ladders, and other apparatus He himself drew thirty or forty boats laden with siege *materiel* under the walls of Rájpúrí, and gave the signal agreed upon to announce his arrival They found the garrison off their guard, and Sídí Khairiyat assaulted the place with loud cries from the land side. When the enemy took the alarm, and rushed to repel the attack on that side, Sídí Yákút planted his scaling-ladders, which he had brought in his boats, and by means of these and of ropes, his brave followers scaled the walls, and quickly made their way up Some of the assailants were cast into the sea, and were drowned, others fell under the swords of the defenders, but the storming party forced its way into the fort, and raised the cry, "Strike! kill!" Just at this time the powder magazine caught fire, and blew up a number of men, including ten or twelve who were with Sídí Yákút The smoke and the noise made it difficult to distinguish friend from foe, but Sídí Yákút raised his war-cry, and

[1] *Tophde-hawai*, lit "aerial-guns"

encouraged his men to slaughter the defenders who had escaped the fire Sidí Khairiyat also scaled the walls on his side, and the place was taken

I, the author, was in that country some time, and I repeatedly heard from many men, and from the mouth of Yákút Khán himself, that when the magazine blew up, although Sivají was twenty *kos* off, it awoke him from sleep, and he said that some misfortune had fallen on Dandá-Rájpúrí, and he sent men to ascertain what had happened

At this time Sivají's forces had gone to attack the neighbourhood of Surat. Within the space of four or five *kos* from Rájpúrí there were six or seven Nizámu-l Mulkí forts which had fallen into the hands of Sivají, but he was unable at this time to render them any assistance So Sídí Yákut seized the opportunity to attack them Six forts surrendered after two or three days' resistance, but the commandant of one fort held out for a week in the hope of relief from Sivají The Abyssinians pushed forward their approaches, and kept up such a fire that he was obliged to surrender. Sídí Yákút granted quarter to the garrison, and seven hundred persons came out. But notwithstanding his word, he made the children and pretty women slaves, and forcibly converted them to Islám The old and ugly women he set free, but the men he put to death This struck such terror into the hearts of Sivají and his followers that he was obliged to confine himself to securing Ráhírí Sídí Yákút sent an account of his victory to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, *Súbadár* of the Dakhin, and to Khán-Jahán His *mansab* was raised, a robe of honour was sent to him, and he received the title of Khán Similar honours were also given to Sídí Khairiyat.

[Text, vol ii p 229] A report reached Sivají that his son Sambhá, whom he had left at Alláhábád with the *Brahman*, was dead, and Sambhájí's wife wanted to become a *sati*, * * but a few months afterwards the Bráhman arrived, bringing Sambhájí with him.

Taxes.

[Text, vol ii p 229] An order was promulgated exempting the commercial goods of Musulmáns from tax throughout the dominions of Hindústán But after a short time, upon the reports of the revenue officers, and by recommendation of good and experienced persons, an order was issued that every article belonging to Musulmáns, the price of which was not large, should pass free, but that goods of value should pay duty Goods belonging to partners were not to be troubled with duties The revenue officers then reported that Musulmáns had adopted the practice of dividing their goods into small parcels in order to avoid the duty, and that they passed the goods of Hindús in their names, and thus the payment of the *zakat* prescribed by the Law was avoided So an order was given that, according to the Law, two and a half per cent should be taken from Musulmáns and five per cent from Hindús

[*Disturbances among the Yúsufzaís*]

War with Bijápúr

[Text, vol ii p 236] In the sixteenth year of the reign, corresponding to 1083 A H (1673 A D),[1] Khán-Jahán fought a battle with Bahlol, the Bíjápúr general, near the town of Málkher,[2] about four stages from Bíjápúr Islám Khán Rúmí fought splendidly, and the Imperial army was worsting the enemy in all directions, when an explosion of gunpowder took place, which so frightened the elephant of Islám Khán that the driver lost all control of it, and the animal carried off his rider to the lines of the enemy, where Islám Khán was dragged off the elephant and killed A good deal of the baggage of the Imperial army was plundered, and many men were slain in the battle * * Aurangzeb received the news of the defeat of Diler Khán and the death of Islám

[1] Just before this the dates become confused

[2] See Grant Duff, vol. i p 78 It lies about thirty miles south-east of Kulbarga

Khán in the Dakhin, while he was at Hasan Abdál on his march against the Afgháns, in the beginning of the seventeenth year of his reign, and he was obliged to defer the punishment of the Dakhinís for the time * * The Emperor returned from Hasan Abdál to the capital at the end of the eighteenth or nineteenth year of his reign

Riot of Hindú Devotees.

[Text, vol. ii. p 252] One of the remarkable occurrences of this year[1] was the outburst of the Hindú devotees called *Sat-namis,* who are also known by the name of *Mundihs* There were four or five thousand of these, who were householders in the *parganas* of Nárnaul and Mewát These men dress like devotees, but they nevertheless carry on agriculture and trade, though their trade is on a small scale. In the way of their religion they have dignified themselves with the title of "Good name," this being the meaning of *Sat-nám* They are not allowed to acquire wealth in any but a lawful calling. If any one attempts to wrong or oppress them by force, or by exercise of authority, they will not endure it Many of them have weapons and arms

At the time Aurangzeb was returning from Hasan Abdál, a strong altercation arose one day near Nárnaul, between a man of this sect, who was engaged in agricultural work, and a man who was keeping watch over the harvest. The latter broke the *Sat-nami's* head with his staff A number of *Sat-námis* then collected and beat the watchman, so that they left him for dead When intelligence reached the *shikkdár*, he assembled his men and sent them to arrest those *Sat-námis.* Meantime numbers of the *Sat-namis* assembled They attacked the *shikkdar's* men, overpowered them, wounded several, and took away their arms Their numbers went on increasing, and

[1] According to the *Ma-asir,* it was the fifteenth year See *suprà,* p 185

information was carried to Kár-talab Khán, *faujdár* of Nárnaul He sent a large force of horse and foot to the assistance of the *shikkdár*, and to punish and seize the rioters The *Sát-námís* fought this force also, wounded and killed a great many of them, and put the rest to flight. Matters grew worse, and the *faujdár* set about collecting more men, both horse and foot, and called to his assistance the *zamíndars* of the neighbourhood. With his old and new men, and with the levies from the *zamíndárs*, he marched against the rioters, and gave them battle. He killed a good many of them, but was repulsed and compelled to fly

To shorten a long story, suffice it to say that after several fights the *faujdar* was killed, and the town of Nárnaul fell into the hands of the *Sat-namis* They proceeded to collect the taxes from the villages, and established posts of their own When the Emperor reached Dehlí, he was informed of this outbreak, and he sent force after force to quell it, but they were all defeated and dispersed It was said that swords, arrows, and musket-balls had no effect upon these men, and that every arrow and ball which they discharged against the royal army brought down two or three men Thus they were credited with magic and witchcraft, and stories were currently reported about them which were utterly incredible They were said to have magic wooden horses like live ones, on which their women rode as an advanced guard

Great *rájas* and veteran *amirs* were sent against them with powerful armies. But the revolters were eager for the fight, and advanced to about sixteen or seventeen *kos* from Dehlí The royal army went forth boldly to attack them, but the *zamíndars* of the neighbourhood, and some cowardly *Rajpúts*, seized the opportunity to throw off their obedience, and to withhold the government dues. They even broke out into open violence, and the flames daily increased. The King ordered his tents to be brought out He then wrote some prayers and devices with his own hands, which he ordered to be sewn on the banners and standards, and carried against the rebels. At length, by the exertions of Rája Bishan Singh, Hámid Khán, and others,

several thousands of them were killed, and the rest were put to flight, so that the outbreak was quelled. * *

*

Re-Imposition of the Jizya.

With the object of curbing the infidels, and of distinguishing the land of the faithful from an infidel land, the *jizya*, or poll-tax, was imposed upon the Hindús throughout all the provinces[1] Upon the publication of this order, the Hindús all round Dehlí assembled in vast numbers under the *jharokha* of the Emperor on the river front of the palace, to represent their inability to pay, and to pray for the recall of the edict But the Emperor would not listen to their complaints One day, when he went to public prayer in the great mosque on the Sabbath, a vast multitude of Hindús thronged the road from the palace to the mosque, with the object of seeking relief Money-changers and drapers, all kinds of shopkeepers from the Urdú *bazár*, mechanics, and workmen of all kinds, left off work and business, and pressed into the way. Notwithstanding orders were given to force a way through, it was impossible for the Emperor to reach the mosque Every moment the crowd increased, and the Emperor's equipage was brought to a stand-still At length an order was given to bring out the elephants and direct them against the mob Many fell trodden to death under the feet of the elephants and horses For some days the Hindús continued to assemble in great numbers and complain, but at length they submitted to pay the *jizya*

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Death of Rája Jaswant Singh.

[Text, vol ii p 259] [2] Intelligence now arrived of the death of Rája Jaswant Singh, who had gone to Kábul with reinforce-

[1] According to the *Ma-ásir*, the *jizya* was imposed in Safar, 1090, in the 22nd year of the reign (1680 A D), and it is not associated with the outbreak of the *Sat-námis*, which, according to that work, occurred five years before

[2] See the account of this given by the *Ma-ásir-i 'Álamgírí*, *supra* p 187

ments After the death of the Rája, his foolish servants took away the Rája's two sons, named Ajít Singh and Dalathaman,[1] who were of tender years, and the Ránís also. Without waiting for permission from Aurangzeb, and without even obtaining a pass from the *Súbadár* of the province, they set off towards the capital When they reached the ferry of Atak, they were unable to produce any pass, so the commander of the boats refused to let them proceed They then attacked him, killed and wounded some of his men, and by force made good their way over the river and went onwards towards Dehlí

There was an old standing grievance in the Emperor's heart respecting Rája Jaswant's tribute, which was aggravated by these presumptuous proceedings of the *Rájpúts*. He ordered the *kotwál* to take his own men, with an additional force obtained from the *mansabdars*, as well as some artillery, and to surround the camp of the *Rájpúts*, and keep guard over them After some days, a party of *Rajputs* sought permission to go home Their request was made known to Aurangzeb, and, as it seemed right and proper, it was granted

Meanwhile the *Rájputs* had obtained two boys of the same age as the *Raja's* children They dressed some of the female attendants in the garments of the *ranis*, and taking every precaution that their stratagem should not be discovered, they left these women and the boys under guard in their camp The (real) *ranis*, disguised as men, went off at night in charge of two trusty servants and a party of devoted *Rajpúts*, and made their way with all speed to their own country The brave and active chiefs, who might have stopped or overtaken them, were keeping guard over the tents in which the pretended children of the *Raja* were After two or three watches, when a report of the fact was made, some officials were sent to make inquiries, and it was repeatedly stated that the *ránís* and the children were still there. Orders were then given for taking all the *Rája's* followers into the fortress The *Rájpúts* and the

[1] دلتهمن

disguised women, who were ready to fight like men for the honour of their *Rája*, made a determined resistance. Many were killed, but a party escaped

The flight of the *ránis* was not clearly proved. Some men, who wished to show their zeal, and to cover their negligence in the matter, asserted that the boys had escaped, and that the *wazír* had sent out a force to secure them. The royal forces went in pursuit twenty *kos* from Dehlí, but they could not overtake the *Rájpúts*, and returned unsuccessful The two (substituted) boys were given into the charge of the women of the royal *harem*, and were there brought up The two boys which the *Rájpúts* carried off were for a long time rejected by Aurangzeb, who refused to acknowledge that they were the sons of Jaswant, until all doubt was removed by the Ráná of Chitor, who married Ajít Singh to a girl of his family

The Ráná and other Rájpúts Defection of Prince Akbar

[Text, vol ii p 261] At the beginning of Zí-l hijja of the twenty-second year of the reign, Aurangzeb started from Ajmír, with the intention of bringing the refractory *Rájputs* to punishment * * A strict *farman* was sent to the Ráná of Chitor, calling upon him to assent to the payment of the *jizya*, and directing him to bring from the territories of Jodhpúr the two alleged sons of Rája Jaswant Singh After a short stay at Ajmír, the army marched with the intention of ravaging Jodhpúr, and other *Rajput* districts The *Rana* feeling himself incapable of resistance, sent his *vakils* with tribute and a letter declaring his obedience in the matter of the *jizya*, but offering to give over two or three *parganas* (districts) in commutation He declared that he was not supporting the sons of Jaswant, and finally begged forgiveness for his offences. Aurangzeb left Khán-Jahán Bahádur to complete the arrangements in this quarter, and returned to Dehlí. His journey to Ajmír and back occupied seven months and twenty days

It was soon after reported that the mean-spirited Ráná had again broken his engagements, and showed rebellious designs, so that Khán-Jahán could bring him to no final settlement. This kindled the flames of the Emperor's wrath, and towards the end of the same year, he set off again to Ajmír, with the intention of punishing the Ráná and the other evil-disposed *Rájpúts.* He wrote to Prince Mu'azzam, directing him to come from the Dakhin to Ujjain, and Prince Muhammad A'zam was ordered to march with all speed from Bengal. When the King's tents were pitched near Ajmír, Prince Muhammad Akbar was sent with a large force to attack and chastise the Ráná. Sháh Kulí Khán, who was promoted and received the title of Tahawwur Khán, was placed in command of his advanced guard.

When the Ráná heard of these preparations, he laid U'dípúr, his capital, waste, and with the treasure and family and followers of himself and Jaswant Singh, he fled to the mountains and difficult passes. The Prince was ordered to follow him into the hills with a strong force of brave men suited for mountain warfare. Another force was sent to ravage the country of the Ráná, and destroy the crops. When Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam arrived at Ujjain, he was directed to march against the lake of Aná-ságar, which belonged to the Ráná, and was about eighty *kos* from Ajmír. His orders were to station his army about that neighbourhood, and to trample every scrap of cultivation under the hoofs of his horses.

It was now announced that Prince Muhammad A'zam had shown such alacrity in the execution of the orders issued to him, that he had compressed four months' march into less than one, and came up with his army. He was ordered to march through the mountains and central fastnesses of the Ráná, into the territories of the *Ráhtors*, and there to kill, ravage and make prisoners among the *Rajpúts*. He was also ordered to employ a force in preventing the transport of supplies to the Ráná, and in stopping cultivation. Nearly twenty-five thousand horse, *Rahtors*, belonging to the territories of Jaswant, and other *Rájpúts*, assembled to support the Ráná, and had the boldness to attack the royal forces, and to

fall upon their supplies. They allured several thousand of the royal forces into the heart of the Ráná's fastnesses There they attacked them, and killed many, both horse and foot, but the royal forces at length prevailed and beat them Notwithstanding that the *Rajpúts* held all the roads through the hills, and came down occasionally from the hills, and attacked the Prince's forces by surprise, the Prince's army fought bravely, and Tahawwur Khán and others rendered distinguished service in chastising the enemy. They employed themselves in laying waste the country, destroying temples and buildings, cutting down fruit-trees, and making prisoners of the women and children of the infidels who had taken refuge in holes and ruined places

Orders were also issued to Muhammad Amín Khán, *Súbadár* of Ahmadábád, directing him to take up a position with his forces between Ahmadábád and the territories of the Rájpúts, and to march against them wherever he heard of them Khán-Jahán Bahádur Kokaltásh was re-appointed *Subadár* of the Dakhin, and sent to lay siege to the fort of Sálír,[1] which had fallen into the possession of the enemy

When the Ráná was hard pressed, and his allies were crippled, when not a scrap of grain was left, and not a trace of cultivation was to be found, the Ráná and the *Rahtor Rajpúts* had recourse again to lies and stratagems They first addressed themselves to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, and sought to make him an intercessor for their forgiveness, or to persuade him to rebel and join them The Prince paid no heed to their allurements, and Nawáb Báí, the mother of the Prince, being informed of what was passing, gave good counsel to the Prince, and strongly dissuaded him from yielding an assent, and from giving any aid, assistance, or intercession on behalf of the *Rajputs* She even persuaded him not to allow the *vakils* of the Ráná to approach him. When they despaired of success in this quarter, the *Rájputs* betook themselves to Prince Muhammad Akbar, taking advantage of his

[1] Or "Sálhír" in the Gháts of Baglána, see *supra* p 66

youth, and the favour of some of his friends Durgá Dás was their spokesman. He was noted among them for his plausibility, and he used all his arts and wiles to persuade the Prince that they would supply him with forty thousand *Rájpút* horse, and with abundance of treasure This so dazzled the Prince that he was deluded, and several of his evil companions artfully used their persuasions. So the inexperienced Prince was led astray from the path of rectitude, and through his youth and covetousness he fell into the snares of the *Rájpúts*

Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, when he heard of these doings, wrote a few words of friendly counsel to the Prince, to whom he was much attached. He also wrote a letter to Aurangzeb, informing him that the false and deceitful infidels were using all their wiles to mislead the Prince, and that he must watch against being taken unawares Aurangzeb entertained no suspicions of Muhammad Akbar; but report had cast an evil aspersion on the name of Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam at the time when Aurangzeb was at Hasan Abdál The infidels had addressed themselves to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam in the first instance, and Aurangzeb had received information about it, so he now thought that Mu'azzam's letter about his brother Akbar was sheer calumny Accordingly he wrote to him, and accused him of making a false charge, and praying that the Almighty would keep him in the right course, and preserve him from listening to the evil suggestions of designing people.

Soon afterwards the secret became public Thirty thousand *Rájpúts* under Durgá Dás joined the Prince The news spread from tent to tent, and was the talk of young and old. It was reported that he had ascended the throne, and that coins had been struck in his name, that Tahawwur Khán had been made a *haft-hazári*, and had received the title of *Amíru-l umará*, that Mujáhid Khán, and other great servants of the State, who were with the Prince, had received distinguished honours, which some of them had felt themselves constrained to accept The Prince was doing his best to win the affections of all, and was said to be marching against Aurangzeb.

Of the forces being sent off, under the command of Prince Akbar, against the infidels, only Asad Khán and a limited number of officers and men were left in attendance upon the Emperor All his retinue, counting the eunuchs and writers, did not exceed seven or eight hundred horsemen A great panic fell upon the royal camp, and wild confusion followed A letter under the royal signature was sent off in haste to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, urging him to come with all his army, and with the greatest haste, to Aurangzeb When the Prince received it, he marched without a moment's delay to join his father. Leaving his ladies and attendants behind under protection, he set off with all speed, and, pressing nine or ten days' journey into the space of two or three, he joined his father, bringing with him Prince Mu'izzu-d dín and Muhammad 'Azím.

When Muhammad Mu'azzam arrived with his nine or ten thousand horse, and they heard the reports about the mighty force of seventy thousand horse with which Prince Muhammad Akbar was approaching to the attack, no man of the army had any hope of escape. The expressions of some of Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam's thoughtless companions roused Aurangzeb's caution and prudence Suspicion arose in his heart, and he thought it advisable to order that his guns should be pointed against the Prince's army, and he sent a message desiring the Prince to leave his army, and to come to him in all speed with his two sons. The Prince obeyed the summons, and hastened to wait upon his father.

The precautions taken by the *Rájpúts* prevented intelligence being obtained of the movements of Prince Muhammad Akbar Shahábu-d dín, son of Kalich Khán, a brave and intelligent man, was sent out with a force to reconnoitre On coming in sight of the Prince's army, Shahábu-d dín's brother, Mujáhid Khán, who was with the Prince, and had found it necessary to temporize, but watched for an opportunity to escape, went to the Prince, and said that if he were allowed he would go to his brother, and bring him over to the Prince's side.

Permission being given, Mujáhid Khán took all the money and valuables he could carry, and joined his brother. The two brothers then went together to the Emperor.

Aurangzeb had been greatly depressed by the adverse news which reached him, but on hearing of the approach of the two brothers, he recovered his spirits. He directed that Shahábu-d dín should be addressed with the title of Khán, and he also conferred great favours on Mujáhid Khán From the latter he learnt the state of the Prince's army, and about those who were acting with him from choice or from necessity Some other men of note now came over, and it was ascertained that after the departure of Mujáhid Khán, dissensions had arisen in the Prince's army

Khwája Makárim, a confidential adherent of Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, led an advanced force towards the army of Prince Muhammad Akbar. A skirmish took place The Khwája was wounded, and so were two or three men on the other side, but he ascertained that Tahawwur Khán had advanced from the Prince's army with a small escort, intending to desert the Prince and join Aurangzeb On this being reported to the Emperor, he ordered that Tahawwur Khán should take off his arms before being admitted to the presence. The Khán demurred to putting off his arms, so Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam made a sign to kill the unhappy man It was now stated to the Emperor that Tahawwur Khán had come, under the orders of Prince Muhammad Akbar, to make known his pretensions and demands On hearing this, Aurangzeb's anger blazed forth, and he placed his hand upon his sword, and ordered that the Khán should be allowed to enter with his arms But one of the attendants, in an insulting way, placed his hand upon the Khán's breast to stop him The Khán struck him a blow on the face and retreated, but his foot caught in a rope, and he fell down Cries of "Strike! slay!" arose on all sides. Numbers fell upon him, and he was soon killed, and his head was cut off. After he was dead, it was found that he had armour under his

clothes, but there were various opinions as to what his real intentions were

The author of this work heard from Khwája Makárim, afterwards Ján-nisár Khán, and from several of his contemporaries, in their old age, that Tahawwur Khán returned in good faith, in consequence of a letter he had received from 'Ináyat Khán, his father-in-law, who was a private secretary of Aurangzeb, but that he felt the order to put off his arms was an insult to his position, his services, and his character. However it may be, his murder caused great divisions in the Prince's army, and among his *Rájpúts*, and they were much dispirited

It was commonly reported that Aurangzeb craftily wrote a letter to Prince Muhammad Akbar, and contrived that it should fall into the hands of the *Rajpúts* In it he praised the Prince for having won over the *Rajputs* as he had been instructed, and that now he should crown his service by bringing them into a position where they would be under the fire of both armies This letter was the cause of great divisions among them Such is the story I have heard, but not from any trustworthy person For all the mighty force which Prince Akbar brought against his father, the sword was not drawn, and no battle was fought, but his army was completely broken The Prince was soon informed that the *Rájputs* had abandoned him There remained with him only Durgá Dás, two or three confidential officers of the Râná, and a small force of two or three thousand horse Of all his old servants and men, these alone remained He lost all courage, self-reliance, and hope, and being utterly cast down, he took to flight * * Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was ordered to pursue him

TWENTY-THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1090 A H (1679-80 A D)

Affairs of the Dakhin. Death of Sivají.

[Text, vol. ii p. 270] Khán-Jahán Bahádur Kokaltásh, after arriving at the *Khujista-bunyád* Aurangábád, according to

order, laid siege to the fort of Sálir Many *Rájpúts* were killed, and many Musulmáns also fell. He pressed the siege for four or five months, but making no impression, he withdrew to Aurangábád.

The hell-dog Sivají went forth with an army on a plundering expedition, and while Khán-Zamán, the *Súbadár*, was at Burhánpúr, he entered Khandesh, and plundered the town of Dharan gánw,[1] one of the most flourishing places in that country * * * Afterwards he ravaged and burnt Chopra[1] and other *parganas*. He then marched against Jálna, a rich mercantile place in the Bálághát[2] * * In the course of the same year he was attacked with illness and died[3] The date of his death is found in the words, "*Káfir ba-jahannam raft,*" "The infidel went to hell," which was discovered by the writer of these pages. Sivají left two sons, Sambhá and Rám Rája The former succeeded him He made Kabkalas,[4] the Bráhman who brought him from Allahábád, his minister.

Sivají had always striven to maintain the honour of the people in his territories. He persevered in a course of rebellion, in plundering caravans, and troubling mankind; but he entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts, and was careful to maintain the honour of the women and children of Muhammadans when they fell into his hands His injunctions upon this point were very strict, and any one who disobeyed them received punishment But the son, unlike his father, obtained an evil name by collecting round him women of all tribes, and by assailing the honour of the women of the places in which he dwelt His father never showed any backwardness in attacking and plundering prosperous places, but he never made any attack upon Aurangábád and Burhánpúr, the provincial capitals of the

[1] These places lie about 70 miles west of Burhánpúr Chopra is the most northerly See *suprà*, p 16 [2] See *suprà*, p 17

[3] "On the 24th Rabí'u-l ákhir, Sívá returned from riding, he was overcome by the heat, vomited blood, and expired."—*Ma-dsiru-l 'Álamgiri*

[4] Both the MSS used agree with the printed text in this spelling of the name (see *suprà*, p 285), but Grant Duff, who refers to our author, writes the name "Kuloosha," and is followed by Elphinstone with "Calusha."

Imperial dynasty. If any of his counsellors advised an attack upon these places, he very wisely and prudently forbade it; "for," said he, "if we attack these places, the honour of Aurangzeb will be wounded, and he will march hither himself, and then, God knows how the strife will end!"

When Sivají was dead, his wretched son Sambhá desired to surpass his father He raised the standard of rebellion, and on the 20th Muharram, in the twenty-third year of the reign, corresponding with 1091 A H (15th February, 1680), he attacked Kákar Khán Afghán, who acted as collector of the *jizya*, under Khán-Zamán, the *Súbadar* of the Dakhin Sambhá was returning with nearly twenty thousand men from a plundering expedition in Birár. He made a forced march of three or four *kos*, as was the practice in those days, and early in the morning made his attack, while his victims were entirely ignorant of his approach. Thus he fell upon Bahádur-púr, one *kos* and a half from Burhánpúr. This place was rich, and there were many bankers and merchants in it Jewels, money, and goods from all parts of the world were found there in vast abundance He surrounded and attacked this place, and also another town called Hafda-púra, which was outside of the fortifications, and his attack was so sudden and unexpected, especially upon Bahádur-pur, that no one was able to save a *dám* or a *diram* of his property, or a single one of his wives and children

Kákar Khán, with his men in the city, saw the smoke of these towns rising to the sky, but he had not a force sufficient to go out and attack the plunderers, so he shut himself up within the walls and looked after the security of his gates and defences Seventeen other places of note, such as Hasan-púra, etc, in the neighbourhood of the city, all wealthy and flourishing places, were plundered and burnt Many honourable men girded on their swords, and, joining in the fight, attained martyrdom. Others submitted themselves humbly to the will of God Some who were near the fortress took their wives and children by the hand, and fled in distress within the walls. For three days the

plunderers ravaged these towns at their will Large sums of money fell into their hands, much of which had been buried for long periods, and sometimes in places unknown even to the householders. They then repeatedly attempted to carry the fortress by assault But the officers took their stations at the gates and other points of attack, and with great bravery beat off the assailants Being unable to enter the city, the plunderers carried off with them the gold, silver, jewels, and other articles of value which were portable; but many other things which they had taken they were obliged to leave behind, because they could not carry them The property which was thrown into the streets of the *bázars* and burnt exceeded all computation

Intelligence of this raid upon the neighbourhood of Burhánpúr was carried by runners to Aurangábád, to Khán-Jahán Bahádur Kokaltásh. He immdiately took horse, and accomplished three or four days' march in one day and night, and reached the pass of Fardápúr, thirty-two *kos* distant There it became necessary to wait three or four watches to rest the animals, and to provide means for crossing the river According to the current reports of some men who took a worldly view of things, and had a bad opinion of Khán-Jahán, some emissaries of Sambhájí came to him with an immense sum of money, and prevailed upon him to halt there for four or five watches One thing is certain After the enemy were repulsed from Burhánpúr, the burden of their plunder, and the knowledge of Khán-Jahán's pursuit, prevented them from reaching their renowned but distant fortresses They were obliged to go to the fort of Sálír, in Baglána, which was the nearest of their strongholds. They went by way of Mustafa-ábád or Chopra Under these circumstances the proper course for Khán-Jahán was to leave Fardápúr without delay, and, bearing towards his left hand, to pass through Dharan-gánw and Chopra, to intercept the marauders. But, through the representations of Sambhájí's emissaries, he went towards his right hand, contrary to what was desirable, and proceeded to 'Ídal-ábád. When the enemy heard this, he made the most of his opportu-

nity, and carried off all the plunder he could transport, and all his prisoners, by a rapid march, through Chopra, to the fort of Sálír, which he reached in four or five days The principal inhabitants of Burhánpúr wrote a statement to Aurangzeb, describing the success of the enemy, the loss inflicted on the property and honour of Muhammadans, and the discontinuance of the public prayers on Fridays Aurangzeb then wrote a letter strongly censuring Khán-Jahán, and announcing his own intention of proceeding to the Dakhin In his anger he took away from Khán-Jahán all the increased honours and emoluments he had conferred upon him in that year Considering the disorders in the Dakhin, and the flight of Prince Muhammad Akbar, he gave orders for his travelling equipage to move towards Burhánpúr

Twenty-fourth Year of the Reign, 1091 A.H. (1680 A.D.)

Prince Akbar.

[Text, vol ii p 275] When Prince Muhammad Akbar took to flight, not more than three or four hundred men remained with him Some of them were his own old followers, and others were *Rájputs* * * All his property and treasure and guns fell into the hands of the royal army, as well as one son, a boy of tender years, named Nekú Siyar, and two daughters One son, who had arrived at years of discretion, remained with the *Rájpúts* The Prince himself was distracted, and knew not whither to go At one time he thought of going to Dehlí and Láhore by way of Ajmír Then he proposed to go to Persia. Whichever way he turned, the *faujdárs* and *zamindars*, under orders from the Emperor, blocked his way Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam received orders to pursue him; but the common report is that he only made a feint of doing so, and marched leisurely.

Akbar proceeded by way of Láhore and Multán, and under the guidance of the *zamíndárs* he then passed by difficult roads through the hills towards the Dakhin * * Orders had been

repeatedly sent to Khán-Jahán Bahádur, *Súbadár* of the Dakhin, and to all the *faujdárs*, directing them to stop him wherever he might come, to take him prisoner alive if possible, if not, to kill him. Under these orders Khán-Jahán pursued the Prince with the intention of making him prisoner He came within fourteen or fifteen *kos* of him, but on approaching nearer he made only a feint of arresting him The fact was reported to the Emperor by Mír Núru-llah, who was very unceremonious in these matters A strong letter of censure was written upon the matter, and strict directions were sent to all the news-writers

Prince Akbar then proceeded to Baglána, to the territory of Rája Debí Singh, the commandant and *faujdar* of Malír Rája Debí sent out a force to take him prisoner, but when the force followed, the Prince escaped from Baglána. A few of his *Rajpúts* remained behind, and these were taken to the Rája Whilst the Rája was making inquiries of these men, another party of his horsemen overtook one of the Prince's followers, who had upon his back a blood-stained jacket belonging to the Prince, but which he had thrown off in consequence of the heat They attacked and wounded this man, and carried him off to the Rája, under the impression that he was the Prince. The Rája did not believe it, and abused his men for their stupidity Prince Akbar, after passing through the territories of the Firingís, found unquiet refuge for a while in the hills of Baglána By means of a bribe of money, he induced the hill-men to guide him to Ráhírí, belonging to Sambhá This chieftain came forth to receive him, gave him a house of his own to dwell in, about three *kos* from the fort of Ráhírí, and fixed an allowance for his support

TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1092 A.H (1681 A.D).

[Text, vol. ii p 278.] After the *'Id-i fitr*, Aurangzeb started for the Dakhin, to punish the infidels, and to pursue Prince

Muhammad Akbar • • On the 14th Zí-l ka'da he reached Burhánpúr, the *Dáru-s surúr* (abode of joy) Khán-Jahán Bahádur, the *Súbadar*, and Amín Khán, the *Díwán* of the four *súbas* of the Dakhin, with the *faujdars* and the officials and nobles there, waited upon him Many great men of Bíjápúr, of the Kutb-Sháhí dynasty, and of the Mahrattas, also came to pay their respects

The infidel inhabitants of the city and the country round made great opposition to the payment of the *jizya* There was not a district where the people, with the help of the *faujdars* and *mukaddams*, did not make disturbances and resistance Mír 'Abdu-l Karím, an excellent and honest man, now received orders to collect the *jizya* in Burhánpúr A suitable force of horse and foot was appointed to support him, and the *kotwal* was directed to punish every one who resisted payment

A fire broke out in a house near the citadel and the *chauk* There were several sacks[1] of powder in the house, the roof was blown off, and many men were burnt. It came to Aurangzeb's knowledge that there were thirty sacks of gunpowder in a cellar under his sleeping apartment An investigation was made, and it appeared that at the very commencement of the reign, when Aurangzeb left Burhánpúr to proceed to Dehlí, the gunners left this powder there, and during all that time it had never been taken out The Emperor severely censured the officials who were answerable for this neglect, and degraded some of them He told them that if this had happened in the reign of Jahángír, that King would have blown them all up with the powder Aurangzeb's humanity and kindness was such that the severest punishment was reduction of dignity, and this even was soon restored through the intercession and kind offices of men high in office

Aurangzeb passed three or four months very pleasantly at Burhánpúr, he then left for Aurangábád Before he departed, Mír 'Abdu-l Karím, the *Amín-i jizya*, reported that the *jizya*

1 کپا

of the city of Burhánpúr for the past year, amounting to 26,000 rupees, had been paid into the public treasury. During the three months that he had been in office, he had settled the sum of one *lac* and 80,000 rupees as the amount payable by half the towns connected with Burhánpúr He now hoped that he might be allowed to leave with His Majesty, and that the collection of the *jizya* might be deputed to some one else He was applauded and promoted. He was allowed to accompany the Emperor, and his deputies were to collect the tax * *

After Aurangzeb reached Aurangábád, Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was sent to take the forts and punish the infidels of Rám-darra in the Kokan; and Prince Muhammad A'zam was directed to reduce the fort of Sálír, near the fort of Malír in Baglána, which had been held for some time by the Mahrattas Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam penetrated into the Kokan, and passing through its inmost recesses, passes and thick woods, he laid the country waste in all directions, and put many infidels to the sword Khwája Abú-l Makárim, afterwards Ján-nisár Khán, and others, greatly distinguished themselves in this campaign, but the grain and millet and vetches of that country were injurious to strangers, and the climate was very uncongenial to camels and horses Men in great numbers and quadrupeds beyond compute perished Horses were so scarce that there was not one left in the stable of the Prince which was fit to carry him. Most men were obliged to walk, and no provisions arrived, for the enemy closed the roads on every side. Life became insupportable, and it was impossible for the Prince to remain there On the facts being reported to the Emperor, he gave orders for the recall of the army.

Twenty-sixth Year of the Reign, 1093 A.H. (1682 A.D.).

[Text, vol ii. p 281] The fort of Sálír, against which Prince Muhammad A'zam had been sent, is not one capable of investment It is near the sea, and there are so many ravines

near, that hundreds of thousands of horsemen could not invest that lofty fortress. * * Neknám Khán was commandant of Malír and *faujdár* of Baglána. When the Prince was ordered to conquer it, Neknám opened negociations with the commandant of Sálir, and by promises and presents, * * induced him to surrender the fortress

[*Three officers in succession, Shahábu-d dín, Khán-Jahán, and Kasim Khan, fail to take the fortress of Rám Sij*]

Prince Akbar

[vol ii p 284] When Prince Akbar went to Ráhírí, and became the guest of the accursed Sambhá, he was at first treated very kindly and respectfully, and provision was made for the necessary expenses of his followers. One day a *kázi* in the presence of Muhammad Akbar, in a stupid flattering way, said to Sambhá, "May all the Mahárája's enemies be trodden under foot" The Prince heard this, and being angry, reprimanded the *kázi* for his folly He also told Sambhá that such vain words ought not to be spoken in his (the Prince's) presence, and that it was also unbecoming in Sambhá to listen to them The report also came that an army had been sent under the command of I'tikád Khán to effect the conquest of Ráhírí Prince Muhammad Akbar therefore thought it advisable to make his way as best he could to Persia He bought two small ships, furnished them with provisions for forty days, and was about to start. Sídí Yákút Khán Habshí, who scoured the seas in those parts, was at first desirous of stopping the progress of the Prince, but he at last connived at it The Prince, with Ziáu-d din Muhammad Shujá'í and forty or fifty persons, put his trust in God and embarked on his voyage His ships were separated and endured great distress, the account of which would be too long for admission here.

Through stress of weather, the Prince's ship fell upon an island belonging to the Imám of Maskat The people of the island made him prisoner and sent him to the Imám This ruler

is one of the great *zamíndárs* or rulers who are dependent on Persia. He affected to treat the Prince with hospitality and respect, but in reality he kept him under surveillance, and wrote to Aurangzeb offering to surrender the Prince for the sum of two *lacs* of rupees and for a charter exempting goods carried in the ships of Maskat from the payment of duty in the port of Surat. If Aurangzeb would send one of his officers, the Imám promised to give up the Prince

Upon receiving this letter, Aurangzeb wrote to the officials of the port of Surat, directing them to act in accord with the proposition of the Imám So the people at Surat sent Hájí Fázil, an old sailor in the royal service, to take Prince Akbar in charge When intelligence of Prince Akbar's arrival in Maskat, and the evil designs of the Imám, became known to the King of Persia, he issued peremptory commands to the Imám, directing him to send the Prince (his guest) to him without delay, or an army would be appointed to deliver him and punish the Imám So preforce the Imám delivered up the Prince to the Sháh's officers * * When the Prince approached Isfahán, Sháh Sulaimán went forth to meet him * * On the death of Sháh Sulaimán, his successor showed the Prince even greater hospitality and attention, so that the Prince asked for an army and money to assist him in Hindústán Sháh Husain excused himself, * * and the Prince then asked permission to go to Garmsír in Khurásán. * * This was granted, and provision was made for his maintenance * * He retired thither, and died there towards the close of the reign of Aurangzeb

Twenty-seventh Year of the Reign, 1094 A H. (1683 A.D).

[Text, vol. ii. p. 290.] The author of this work has not been able to obtain such satisfactory accounts of these two or three years (*in do sih sal*), as to be worthy of being committed to writing. * * But he has here recorded what he has heard from the mouths of trustworthy witnesses, also what he heard from his late

brother, Muhammad Murád Khán, who was a servant of the Court, and on whose statements he places implicit trust, and lastly, what the author himself witnessed in his travels and at Haidarábád He has compared and considered the information derived from these various sources, and has reduced it to writing If there should appear to be any excess or deficiency, the pardon of the reader is solicited

Siege of Rám-darra

[Text, vol ii p 290] In the beginning of the twenty-seventh year Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam marched from Ahmadnagar to lay siege to the forts of Rám-darra, belonging to Sambhá, which were in a part of the country never before penetrated by an Imperial army. * * The roll of his army numbered 20,000 horse * * On the march through the narrow passes, there were many sharp fights with the enemy, in which numbers of the royal soldiers fell, but the enemy were put to flight. On reaching the village of Sámpgánw, the fort of that place was invested The besiegers showed great bravery, and took the fort in two days They then entered the country of Rám-darra It was in a very strong position, and the air of the place did not suit the invaders The enemy swarmed around on every side, and cut off the supplies On one side was the sea, and on two other sides were mountains full of poisonous trees and serpents The enemy cut down the grass, which was a cause of great distress to man and beast, and they had no food but cocoa-nuts, and the grain called *kúdún*, which acted like poison upon them Great numbers of men and horses died Grain was so scarce and dear that wheat flour sometimes could not be obtained for less than three or four rupees. Those men who escaped death dragged on a half existence, and with crying and groaning felt as if every breath they drew was their last There was not a noble who had a horse in his stable fit for use When the wretched state of the royal army became

known to Aurangzeb, he sent an order to the officers of the port of Surat, directing them to put as much grain as possible on board of ships, and send it to the Prince's succour by sea The enemy got intelligence of this, and as the ships had to pass by their newly-erected fortresses, they stopped them on their way, and took most of them. A few ships escaped the enemy, and reached their destination, but no *amír* got more than two or three *palas* of corn The order at length came for the retreat of the army, and it fell back fighting all the way to Ahmadnagar, where Aurangzeb then was.

Kutbu-l Mulk.

[vol ii p 292] It now became known to the Emperor that Abú-l Hasan Kutbu-l Mulk, Sovereign of Haidarábád, had entrusted the government of his kingdom to Mádaná and Ákaná, two infidels, who were bitter enemies to the Musulmáns, and brought great and increased troubles upon them The King himself was given up to luxury, drinking and debauchery * * Aurangzeb having turned his attention to the conquest of Haidarábád, and the subjugation of Abú-l Hasan, he first sent Khán-Jahán Kokaltásh with his sons and * * with a detachment against certain adherents of Abú-l Hasan, who had taken possession of some districts dependent upon Zafar-nagar, on the pretence that they had formerly formed part of the country of Telingána Their instructions were to chastise these men, and to recover the districts After this, Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam with * * were sent to effect the conquest of the country of Telingána

Aurangzeb now sent Mirzá Muhammad, the superintendent of his *ghusl-khána*, to Abú-l Hasan Kutbu-l Mulk, with a message to this effect · "It has come to our hearing that you have two very fine diamonds of 150 *surkhs* in weight, with sundry other rarities. We wish you to ascertain the value of these gems, and to send them to us for the balance of tribute due." But he told his envoy confidentially that he did not send him to obtain the

two diamonds, which he did not at all want, but rather to ascertain the truth of the evil reports which had reached him * * Upon the arrival of Mirzá Muhammad, he demanded the diamonds, according to his instructions Abú-l Hasan swore that he had no such gems, and that if he had, he would have been happy to send them without any demand being made for them * * Such stones as his predecessors possessed had been sent to the late Emperor. * *

Mirzá Muhammad returned, and Abú-l Hasan learnt that armies had been sent against him under the command of Khán-Jahán and Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam. He then sent Ibráhím Khán, otherwise called Husaini, who had received the title of Khalílu-llah Khán, and was commander-in-chief, and one of the chief nobles of Haidarábád, with * *, and a force of thirty or forty thousand horse, to oppose the armies sent against him

When the two armies approached each other, between the territories of Bíjápúr and Haidarábád, Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was desirous of avoiding actual war by all means in his power He sent a message to Khalílu-llah Khán, offering peace, on the following terms Abú-l Hasan must express regret for his offences, and ask forgiveness He must remove Mádaná and Ákaná from the management of affairs, and place them in confinement The *parganas* of Síram, Rámgír, etc, which had been taken by force, upon unjust grounds, from the possession of servants of the Imperial throne, must be restored The balance of tribute due must be forwarded without delay. The foolish *amirs* of the Dakhin, in their pride, sent improper answers, regardless of the Imperial anger So preparations for battle were made on both sides

The limits of this brief history will not admit of a detailed account of all the actions fought by Khán-Jahán Bahádur Kokaltásh, but a short account of one engagement is given. In this action Khán-Jahán had not more than ten or eleven thousand horse, and Khalílu-llah Khán had more than thirty thousand * * Khán-Jahán's army was so outnumbered and

overpowered that all chance of escape seemed difficult, and the enemy's forces came on every moment with greater strength. * * One of the enemy's chiefs pressed forward, with a loud cry, to the elephant of Khán-Jahán, with the intention of hurling a javelin at him Khán-Jahán encountered him, shouting out, "I am a nobleman," and, allowing him no time to throw his javelin, Khán-Jahán drew his bow to his ear, and pierced his assailant with an arrow, so that he fell headlong from his horse The royal army was still very hard pressed, intelligence constantly came in from the front and rear that the enemy were in overwhelming force, and the only course left for the army of Khán-Jahán was to retreat At this juncture the driver of an elephant belonging to Rája Rám Singh placed a heavy chain in its mouth, and made it charge upon the enemy's advanced force. * * Wherever the elephant charged, the noise of the chain and the blows of his trunk struck terror into the enemy The horses of two or three officers took fright, and threw their riders Thus the army of the enemy was put to flight, and Khán-Jahán celebrated his victory, and pitched his camp on the field of battle Many horses, elephants, and guns fell into his hands * * He then sent an officer who wrested the fort of Síram from the hands of the enemy, and placed a garrison therein * *

The enemy advanced also against Prince Mu'azzam, and for some days kept up a deceptive correspondence. Fighting began and went on for three days, with great loss to both sides. On the fourth day the action was continued with increased violence, and the enemy were at length compelled to retreat The Prince, Khán-Jahán, and the other Imperial officers, did not deem it expedient to pursue them. They determined to remain where they were, and sent a despatch of the victory to Aurangzeb The Emperor had for some time felt a little dissatisfied with the Prince, and he was displeased with Khán-Jahán for the licence and debauchery which prevailed in his camp, and which he had repeatedly censured without effect. He was also annoyed

with him for not having pursued and secured Prince Akbar when that Prince was near his territory * * Whenever he wrote to him, he got a saucy answer. For these and other reasons Aurangzeb was quite offended with Khán-Jahán.

Twenty-eighth Year of the Reign, 1095 A H (1684 A D)

The War with Kutbu-l Mulk of Haidarábád

[Text, vol ii p. 300] The despatch of victory and the intelligence of the retreat of the enemy reached Aurangzeb, but his satisfaction was turned into displeasure when he learnt that the enemy had not been pursued He wrote an angry letter to the Prince Sháh 'Álam,[1] and to Khán-Jahán, and was much dissatisfied The generals of Abu-l Hasan did not after this dare to venture upon an engagement, but from time to time roving parties of them annoyed the Imperial forces at night with rockets They sometimes showed themselves in reconnoissances by day, and fell back upon their camp The Prince and Khán-Jahán were offended, and made no attack upon them, and remained for four or five months inactive without moving. This aggrieved Aurangzeb still more, and he wrote a strong letter of censure with his own hand to the Prince and Khán-Jahán This letter greatly incensed the Prince

The morning after the receipt of the letter, he held a council of war with Khán-Jahán, and the other nobles * * Khán-Jahán was opposed to fighting, and some *amirs* agreed with him Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán and two or three *rajas* advised active operations Nothing was decided that day, and next day Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán in private [*urged an attack upon the enemy*] Prince Sháh 'Álam wrote to Muhammad Ibráhím, the commander of the enemy's army, offering terms of peace on condition of the *parganas* of Síram, Kír (or Khír), etc, being restored to the Imperial officers * * Muhammad Ibráhím con-

[1] Prince Mu'azzam had received this title, by which he is hereafter called

sulted with his officers as to the answer to be given, * * and the answer given was that they had taken the *parganas* at the point of the sword and spear, and were ready to fight for them * * [*Fighting recommenced,*] and the enemy were at length defeated and put to flight. The Prince pursued them into their camp, and great consternation fell upon them.

One of the enemy's generals then sent two officers to the royal army to represent that the combatants on both sides were Musulmáns, and therefore the honour and safety of the women should be regarded They asked for a truce of three or four hours to remove the women to a place of safety, and after that they would be ready to fight again * * So the fighting and plundering was stayed The enemy sent their women to a fort which was near, and at the end of three *pahars* the fighting recommenced on every side * * The enemy kept up the fight till evening, but then they retreated.

The Prince sent a message to the enemy, to the effect that in battles numbers of Musulmáns on both sides are killed, it would therefore be better if two or three chiefs from both sides should meet and fight it out. This would be a real trial of strength, skill and courage, and it would be seen which side had the favour of God. * * Next day messengers brought the news that the enemy's horse had fled towards Haidarábád. The Prince marched in pursuit, and came near to Haidarábád.

Mádaná Pant and his friends had raised suspicions in the mind of Abú-l Hasan, that Muhammad Ibráhím had been the means of bringing the Prince thither Abú-l Hasan was very angry, and was intent upon seizing Ibráhím, and putting him to death Muhammad Ibráhím got intelligence of this, and went to offer his services to the Prince, who received him with great favour When intelligence of this desertion became known in Haidarábád, Abú-l Hasan was greatly alarmed, and without consulting with any of his nobles, or even caring anything for his property or the honour of his own women and family, or of others, he fled with a few servants by night, with boxes full of such valuables as he

could carry, to the fort of Golkonda When this fact became public, the stores of Abú-l Hasan were plundered, as also was the property of the merchants, worth four or five *krors* of rupees. The women of the soldiers, and of the inhabitants of the city, were subjected to dishonour, and great disorder and destruction prevailed Many thousand gentlemen being unable to take horse, and carry off their property, in the greatest distress took the hands of their children and wives, many of whom could not even seize a veil or sheet to cover them, and fled to the fortress

Before Prince Sháh 'Álam got intelligence of what was passing, the ruffians and plunderers of the city began their work of pillage and devastation Nobles, merchants, and poorer men, vied with each other as to who, by strength of arm, and by expenditure of money, should get their families and property into the fortress Before break of day, the Imperial forces attacked the city, and a frightful scene of plunder and destruction followed, for in every part and road and market there were *lacs* upon *lacs* of money, stuffs, carpets, horses, and elephants, belonging to Abú-l Hasan and his nobles Words cannot express how many women and children of Musulmáns and Hindús were made prisoners, or how many women of high and low degree were dishonoured Carpets of great value, which were too heavy to carry, were cut to pieces with swords and daggers, and every bit was struggled for. Prince Sháh 'Álam appointed officers (*sazawal*) to prevent the plunder, and they did their best to restrain it, but in vain. The *kotwal* of the army received orders to go with the Imperial *diwan*, with an escort of four or five hundred horse, to take possession of what was left of the property of Abú-l Hasan

Some persons now came from Abú-l Hasan to the Prince, most humbly and earnestly begging forgiveness of the sins which he had and had not committed The Prince thereon strictly enjoined his officers to repress the plundering, and to punish those who were setting places on fire The disorder was in some measure diminished; but the plunderers were not really

stopped in their work. After a good deal of negotiation, the Prince took pity upon Abú-l Hasan and the inhabitants of the place He accepted his proposals, upon certain conditions A tribute of one *kror* and twenty *lacs* of rupees was to be paid, in addition to the usual annual tribute Mádaná and Ákaná, the two brothers, and the chief causes of the war, were to be imprisoned and deprived of all authority The fort of Síram and the *pargana* of Khír, and other districts which had been conquered, were to remain in the hands of the Imperialists, and Abú-l Hasan was to ask forgiveness of his offences from Aurangzeb

While the negociations were pending, * * * some women of great influence in the *harem*, without the knowledge of Abú-l Hasan, laid a plot for the murder of Mádaná and Ákaná * * Whilst the two doomed wretches were proceeding from the *darbar* to their own houses, a party of slaves attacked them and killed them Rustam Rás also, who had reached the house, was killed Many *bráhmans* lost their lives and property on that day The heads of the two brothers were cut off, and were sent to Prince Sháh 'Álam by the hands of a discreet person. * *

When the Prince's despatch reached Aurangzeb, he in public approved of the terms of peace, and sent * * an officer to receive the tribute. Privately, however, he censured the Prince and Khán-Jahán, and summoned the latter to his presence.

War with Bíjápúr.

[Text, vol ii. p 316.] Aurangzeb determined that he would march in person to effect the conquest of Bíjápúr, and he started with that intention on the 4th Sha'bán * * Prince A'zam, with some experienced nobles and a suitable force, was sent to reduce Bíjápúr. On approaching the place, he found that the forces of the Dakhin, under the command of 'Abdu-r Rúf and Sharza Khán, hovered round him in all directions. In that year calamity had fallen on the crops, and grain was very dear. The Dakhiní

forces occupied the country all around, and prevented all supplies of corn from reaching Bíjápúr, so that grain became very scarce and dear in the (Imperial) army, and it was difficult to get a loaf. * * At length, after many severe actions, * * the forces of the enemy were driven back, and convoys of provisions were brought safely into the camp of Prince Muhammad A'zam, and he was relieved from the difficulties which had beset him * * Great favours and honours were bestowed on Ghází-u-d dín Khán for the service he had rendered in bringing in the convoy.

The protracted duration of the siege of Bíjápúr, and the information he had received of the disaffection of the allies who accompanied Prince Muhammad A'zam, made Aurangzeb determine to proceed thither in person. At the beginning of Sha'bán, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign, he set out from Sholápúr, and on the 21st of the month he arrived before the fortress, to the great dismay of the besieged He appointed * * several of his best officers to assist the Prince in carrying on the siege, and addressed to them some soul-stirring words They set heartily to work constructing lines of approach, driving mines and filling up the ditch * *

Some mischief-making people reported to Aurangzeb that on a day when an attack was made Sháh Kulí was inside the fortress along with Sikandar, also that a person named Saiyid 'Álam used to come out of the city by night, and have interviews in secret with the Prince This was confirmed by the report of Rúhu-llah Khán *kotwal* Orders were accordingly given for the arrest of Saiyid 'Álam when he came out to see Prince Sháh 'Álam, and also for the apprehension of Sháh Kulí Shah Kulí was at length seized and brought before Aurangzeb, who examined him and endeavoured to extract from him the truth about his visits to the city. Nothing but denial was obtained from the prisoner, so the order was given for binding him and submitting him to the torture. After receiving a few blows, his spirit gave way, he divulged the whole secret, and named several others who had been concerned with him

Aurangzeb sent for Prince Sháh 'Álam, and in a private interview reproached him with these secret negociations The Prince denied them, and said that Sháh Kulí was no servant of his. Orders were given for the confinement of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, and for the expulsion of several other persons from the army. Aurangzeb's feelings had been estranged from Prince Sháh 'Álam since the transactions at Haidarábád, and he was now still more offended with him He made no outward change in the Prince's rank and allowances, or in the honours due to him as heir apparent, but his estrangement daily increased

TWENTY-NINTH AND THIRTIETH YEARS OF THE REIGN, 1096 AND 1097 A.H. (1685-6 A.D.)

Conquest of Bijápur and Haidarábád

[Text, vol ii p. 322] By the exertions of Ghazíu-d dín Khán Fíroz Jang, and other renowned warriors, and through want of supplies, the garrison of Bíjápúr was in great distress, and many men and horses had perished Sharza Khán and other nobles asked for terms on behalf of Sikandar, and at the beginning of the thirtieth year of the reign, in Zí-l ka'da, 1097 (October, 1686), the keys of the fortress were surrendered to Aurangzeb The conquest was celebrated with great display, and Sikandar was placed in confinement in the fort of Daulatábád, a suitable provision being made for his support.

At the end of Muharram Aurangzeb notified his intention of going to pay a visit to the tomb of Hazrat Banda-nawáz Saiyid Muhammad Gísú, and marched towards Kulbarga He sent a kind *farman* to Abú-l Hasan, and another to Sa'ádat Khán, his own *hajib* at Haidarábád, asking for payment of the tribute He also wrote privately to Sa'ádat Khán, to the effect that it was his intention shortly to march against Haidarábád and conquer it, but Sa'ádat Khán was meanwhile to do his utmost to obtain money from Abú-l Hasan. Sa'ádat Khán flattered Abú-l

Hasan with hopes of favours from Aurangzeb, and exerted himself to obtain payment of the tribute Abú-l Hasan, in the hope of finding safety, told Sa'ádat Khán that he was unable to find the money, but he offered instead the jewels and valuables belonging to his wives and others He therefore asked him to send his young eunuch to select and take away the jewels and other things Sa'ádat Khán refused to send the eunuch, and negociations went on for some days, until the intelligence was brought that Aurangzeb was at Kulbarga

Abu-l Hasan, in the extremes of fear and hope, sent for Sa'ádat Khán, and delivered into his charge several trays of jewels and valuables, without even settling the value of them. These were sealed up, and it was arranged that Sa'ádat Khán should carry them to his house In the course of the next two or three days Abú-l Hasan would do his best to obtain the tribute money, and would send it to the house of Sa'ádat Khán The value of the jewels was then to be settled, and the whole was to be sent to Aurangzeb, with a letter from Sa'ádat Khán commending Abú-l Hasan's willingness and obedience, and praying for merciful consideration Abú-l Hasan sent some loads of fruit for Aurangzeb, and Sa'ádat Khán also sent some baskets with them

Two or three days later intelligence was brought that Aurangzeb had left Kulbarga and had arrived at Golkonda. Everybody now said that his object was to conquer Golkonda. Abú-l Hasan sent to Sa'ádat Khán, saying * * that he had no longer hope of any consideration from Aurangzeb, and demanded back the jewels which he had placed in his charge Sa'ádat Khán replied that * * he had sent the jewels to Aurangzeb in the baskets which accompanied Abú-l Hasan's present of fruit A great scene followed Abú-l Hasan placed a guard over Sa'ádat Khán's house. * * The latter said that he had only obeyed the orders, and acted in accordance with his wishes in sending the jewels. "For this," said he, "you are now about to kill me My master has long desired some pretext

for destroying you, he cannot have a better one than the murder of his *hájib*. If I am spared, I can do something to obtain forgiveness for you, and I will exert myself to the utmost." * * In some matters Sa'ádat Khán had befriended Abú-l Hasan against the designs of his own master. So Abú-l Hasan, thinking of what might follow, refrained from injuring him, and made him presents * *

When Aurangzeb drew near to Haidarábád, Abú-l Hasan felt that the time of his fall was near, but he sent a letter to Aurangzeb, renewing his protestations of obedience, and reiterating his claims to forgiveness * * Aurangzeb wrote a reply, the gist of which was as follows "The evil deeds of this wicked man pass beyond the bounds of writing; but by mentioning one out of a hundred, and a little out of much, some conception of them may be formed. First, placing the reins of authority and government in the hands of vile tyrannical infidels; oppressing and afflicting the *saiyids*, *shaikhs*, and other holy men, openly giving himself up to excessive debauchery and depravity, indulging in drunkenness and wickedness night and day, making no distinction between infidelity and Islám, tyranny and justice, depravity and devotion, waging obstinate war in defence of infidels, want of obedience to the Divine commands and prohibitions, especially to that command which forbids assistance to an enemy's country, the disregarding of which had cast a censure upon the Holy Book in the sight both of God and man Letters full of friendly advice and warning upon these points had been repeatedly written, and had been sent by the hands of discreet men No attention had been paid to them, moreover it had lately become known that a *lac* of *pagodas* had been sent to the wicked Sambhá That in this insolence and intoxication and worthlessness, no regard had been paid to the infamy of his deeds, and no hope shown of deliverance in this world or in the next"

Abú-l Hasan, seeing that there was no longer any hope for him, sent forth his forces, under the command of his best officers,

to meet Aurangzeb, urging them to fight valiantly, and to endeavour to make Aurangzeb prisoner * * On the 24th Rabí'u-l awwal the royal army took ground at gun-shot distance from Golkonda, and the work of the siege began. * * Abú-l Hasan had forty or fifty thousand horse outside the walls, with whom the royal army had frequent encounters, and a sharp fire of guns and rockets was kept up from the fortifications. Some distinguished officers of the royal army and many men were lost on both sides After the arrival of Fíroz Jang, the whole management of the siege was placed in his hands

Prince Sháh 'Álam had fallen under the displeasure of his father at the siege of Bijápúr, still, at the siege of Golkonda, the lines on the right side were under his command But the days of his fortune and prosperity had been overshadowed by some years of trouble and misconduct He now secretly received messages and presents from Abú-l Hasan, to secure his services and the services of his associates, in obtaining forgiveness of past offences The Prince's objects were that peace and war should be dependent upon his approval as heir apparent, and that as far as possible he should bind Abú-l Hasan to his interests. He never reflected that this course must eventually end in his fall and disgrace Some meddling mischief-making people got information of what was going on, and informed Aurangzeb * * The manager of the Prince's equipages now reported to him that the carriages belonging to his *zanana* were far away from his tents, and were open to attacks from the garrison He accordingly ordered that they should be brought nearer to his tent

Some of Prince Muhammad A'zam's companions informed Aurangzeb that Sháh 'Álam was about to make his way into the city. On hearing this, Aurangzeb was greatly enraged He called Hayát Khán, and another of Sháh 'Álam's confidential servants, to his presence, and questioned them in private as to the Prince's intention They replied that the Prince's object was to obtain, by his influence, a pardon for Abú-l Hasan, and, failing in that, to do his best for the reduction of the fortress

Of evil intentions he had none. * * But for all their pleas and protestations they could not remove the suspicions which Aurangzeb had of his son. * * Orders were given for a force to be sent to bring the Prince before him Hayát Khán said there was no necessity for that If the Emperor sent an officer to call the Prince, he would come at once, for he had no thought but of obedience. So on the 18th Rabí'u-s sání, in the twenty-ninth year of the reign, an officer was sent to bring the Prince, with Muhammad 'Azím, his second son, to the royal presence The Prince obeyed immediately, and waited on his august father. * * The Emperor ordered that all the establishments of the Prince should be seized, and his *mansabs* and *jagirs* confiscated [*Harsh treatment of Núru-l Nissa, the Prince's wife, and of her eunuchs*] But here we will refrain from entering upon the unhappy details of the Prince's imprisonment, and his liberation, and will proceed with the account of the conquest of Golkonda

Day by day, and week by week, the approaches were pushed forward under the direction of Gházíu-d dín Fíroz Jang, but they were encountered with great daring by the besieged under the command of Shaikh Nizám, Mustafá Khán Lárí, otherwise called 'Abdu-r Razzák, and others The fighting was desperate, and many were killed on both sides. * * After one sharp encounter, in which a sally of the garrison was driven back with loss, Shaikh Minháj, Shaikh Nizám, and others, deserted Abú-l Hasan, and came over to the besiegers, when Aurangzeb granted to them suitable *mansabs* and titles Muhammad Ibráhím, who was the first to quit the way of error, and to enter upon the royal road of rectitude, received a *mansab* of 7000 and 6000 horse, with the title of Mahábat Khán He exerted himself above all others in endeavouring to reduce the fortress. Shaikh Nizám received a *mansab* of 6000 and 5000 horse, with the title of Takarrub Khán. Of all the nobles of Abú-l Hasan, the one who never forsook him until the fall of the place, and who throughout exerted himself in an inconceivable manner, was Mustafá Khán Lári, or, as he was also called, 'Abdu-r Razzák.

The siege was protracted for a long time, and from the immense stores of ammunition in the fortress, an unintermitting discharge was kept up night and day from the gates, and towers, and walls, of cannon-balls, bullets, rockets and other fiery missiles. The smoke arising from the constant firing removed the distinction of day and night, and no day passed without the besiegers suffering a loss in killed and wounded The assailants exerted themselves vigorously, especially * *, and so in the course of a month and some days the lines were carried up to the very edge of the ditch, and orders were issued for filling it up It is said that Aurangzeb himself, after observing the rite of purification, sewed the seams of the first cotton bag to be filled with earth and thrown into the moat. High mounds were raised, and heavy guns were placed upon them and pointed against the fortress. Their heavy five greatly harassed the defenders The scarcity and dearness of grain and fodder (within the city) was extreme, so that many men of wealth were disheartened, who then can describe the position of the poor and needy? Throughout the Dakhin in the early part of this year there was a scarcity of rain when the *jowár* and *bajra* came into ear, so they dried up and perished. These productions of the autumn harvest are the main support of the people of the Dakhin. Rice is the principal food of the people of Haidarábád, and the cultivation of this had been stopped by war and by scarcity of rain. The Dakhinís and the forces of the hell-dog Sambhá had come to the assistance of Haidarábád, and hovering round the Imperial forces, they cut off the supplies of grain Pestilence (*wabá*) broke out, and carried off many men Thus great numbers of men were lost Others, unable to bear the pangs of hunger and wretchedness, went over to Abú-l Hasan, and some treacherously rendered aid to the besieged.

When the siege had been carried on for some time, Aurangzeb recalled Prince Muhammad A'zam, whom, in consequence of the unfaithfulness of Prince Sháh 'Álam, he had sent to settle the country round Ujjain and Akbarábád, and who had got as far as

Burhánpúr. He also summoned Rúhu-lláh Khán, an experienced and highly-trusted nobleman, from Bíjápúr. Soon after the Prince's arrival, the dearness of grain passed all bounds. * * In the middle of Rajab, when the siege had lasted three months, * * it was resolved to make an attempt to take the place by surprise at night, by means of scaling-ladders and ropes * * A few brave men succeeded in ascending the ramparts, * * but the barking of a dog gave the alarm, and the defenders rushed to the walls and soon despatched those who had gained the top They also threw down the ladders, and so made an end of those who were mounting Others opened fire When the leaders of the storming party gained the summit of the ramparts, one of Aurangzeb's servants ran off to report their success, without waiting to see the result of the enterprise. Aurangzeb, on receiving his report, ordered the drums of victory to be beaten, and ordered out his royal equipage and state dress. Next day spies reported that Abú-l Hasan gave the dog a gold collar, a plated chain, etc, and directed that the dog should be kept chained near to himself.

In the middle of Sha'bán a heavy rain fell for three days, * * which was the cause of very great distress to the besiegers, * * and destroyed many of their works. * * The enemy also took courage, and made a sally in great force, in which they did great damage, * * and killed many men and took some prisoners Abú-l Hasan treated his prisoners with hospitality and honour * * He took Sarbaráh Khán to his granaries and magazines and showed him his stores of corn and heaps of treasure He then wrote a letter to Aurangzeb, reciting * * and offering to present a *kror* of rupees, and also to pay a *kror* of rupees for each time that Aurangzeb had besieged the place, so that any further slaughter of Musulmáns might be prevented If his proposals were not accepted, he offered to supply five or six hundred thousand *mans* of grain for the troops When these proposals were reported to Aurangzeb, he said, "If Abú-l Hasan does not repudiate my authority, he must come to me with clasped hands,

or he must be brought bound before me I will then consider what consideration I can show him." He then issued orders to the officials of Birár for the preparation of 50,000 bags of cotton, and for other materials for carrying on the siege and filling up the moat. * *

On the 19th Sha'bán it was reported that a triple mine had been driven under the bastions of the fortress, and charged with gunpowder Orders were then given that a force should be collected in the lines as if about to make an attack upon the undermined work, so that the enemy might observe this, and assemble his men there The mines were then to be fired 'Abdu-r Razzák Lárí and others of the besieged, having observed these proceedings, commenced countermining They pushed their work with such skill and activity, * * that they drew the powder and match from one mine, and poured water into the other two The Imperial troops collected for the assault, and raised their cries, and the gunners watched the ramparts for the proper moment for firing the mine When the signal was given, one mine exploded, but as part of the powder had been extracted, and of the remaining part that which lay nearest to the fortress was wet, the blowing up of the bastion did more injury to the besiegers than the besieged * * The garrison then sallied forth, and occupied the trenches, killing all whom they found alive in them After a severe struggle, in which many men fell on both sides, the trenches were recovered The second mine was exploded, and thousands of stones, great and small, were hurled into the air, but, as in the former case, they fell upon the heads of the besiegers, * * and great numbers were killed and wounded * *

Great wailings and complaints arose from the troops engaged in the siege * * The cannonade recommenced on both sides, and many more of the besiegers fell * * Although Fíroz Jang exerted himself most strenuously, he made no impression upon the place The long delay kindled the anger of Aurangzeb He called his chiefs and officers together, * * and placing him-

self at about a gun-shot distance from the walls, he ordered an assault to be made under his own eyes Prodigies of valour were exhibited. * * But a storm of wind and rain arose, and obstructed the progress of the assailants, * * and they were forced to fall back drenched with rain The garrison again made a sally, took possession of the trenches, spiked the heavy guns, on the mounting of which immense money and labour had been expended, and carried away all that was portable They pulled out of the moat the logs of wood, and the many thousands of bags which had been used to fill it up, and used them to repair the breaches made by the mines * * It was afterwards determined that the third mine should be sprung in the presence of Aurangzeb But although fire was applied, nothing resulted An examination as to the cause was instituted, but nothing was discovered until it was learnt from spies that the enemy had cleared out the powder and cut the match * * Fíroz Jang had received two arrow wounds The command of the army was then given to Prince Muhammad A'zam

Several of the officers of Abú-l Hasan had come over to the side of Aurangzeb, and had received suitable titles, *mansabs*, and presents Shaikh Minháj, having heard of this, was about to desert, but Abú-l Hasan placed him in confinement, and seized his house Of all his nobles, none remained faithful to Abú-l Hasan but 'Abdu-r Razzák Lárí, who had received the title Mustafá Khán, and 'Abdu-llah Khán Paní Afghán At the end of Sha'bán, the siege had lasted eight months, and Abú-l Hasan's men still worked indefatigably At length, 'Abdu-llah Khán made secret overtures to Aurangzeb, and agreed to open one of the gates of the city for the admission of his troops.

Aurangzeb frequently communicated with 'Abdu-r Razzák Lárí, and promised him a *mansab* of six thousand, with six thousand horse, and other regal favours But that ungracious faithful fellow, taking no heed of his own interest and life, in the most insolent manner exhibited the Emperor's letter to the men in his bastion, and tore it to pieces in their presence, and he

sent a message by the spy who had brought it to say that he would fight to the death like the horsemen who fought with Imám Husain at Karbalá * *

The besiegers continued to show great resolution in pushing on the siege They cast into the ditches thousands of bags filled with dirt and rubbish, and thousands of carcases of animals and men who had perished during the operations Several times the valour of the assailants carried them to the top of the walls; but the watchfulness of the besieged frustrated their efforts, so they threw away their lives in vain, and the fortress remained untaken. But the fortune of 'Álamgír at length prevailed, and after a siege of eight months and ten days, the place fell into his hands, but by good fortune, not by force of sword and spear.

THIRTY-FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1098 A H (1687 A D.).

[Text, vol. ii p 361] At the beginning of the month Zí-l ka'da, at the commencement of the thirty-first year of the reign, agreeing with 1098 A H (Sept 1687), by the efforts of Rúhu-llah Khán, a negociation was concluded, through Ranmast Khán Afghán Paní, with 'Abdu-llah Khán, who was one of the confidential officers of Abú-l Hasan, and had charge of the gate called the *khirki* (wicket). In the last watch of the night Rúhu-llah Khán and * *, at a sign from 'Abdu-llah, entered the fortress by means of ladders Prince Muhammad A'zam, mounted on an elephant, had a large force ready to enter by the gate. Those who had got in went to the gate, posted their men, opened the gate, and raised the cry of victory

'Abdu-r Razzák Lárí heard this, and, springing on a horse without any saddle, with a sword in one hand and a shield in the other, and accompanied by ten or twelve followers, he rushed to the open gate, through which the Imperial forces were pouring in. Although his followers were dispersed, he alone, like a drop of water falling into the sea, or an

atom of dust struggling in the rays of the sun, threw himself upon the advancing foe, and fought with inconceivable fury and desperation, shouting that he would fight to the death for Abú-l Hasan. Every step he advanced, thousands of swords were aimed at him, and he received so many wounds from swords and spears that he was covered with wounds from the crown of his head to the nails of his feet. But his time was not yet come, and he fought his way to the gate of the citadel without being brought down. He received twelve wounds upon his face alone, and the skin of his forehead hung down over his eyes and nose One eye was severely wounded, and the cuts upon his body seemed as numerous as the stars His horse also was covered with wounds, and reeled under his weight, so he gave the reins to the beast, and by great exertion kept his seat The horse carried him to a garden called Nagína, near the citadel, to the foot of an old cocoa-nut tree, where, by the help of the tree, he threw himself off. On the morning of the second day a party of men belonging to Husainí Beg passed, and recognizing him by his horse and other signs, they took compassion upon him, and carried him upon a bedstead to a house When his own men heard of this, they came and dressed his wounds The remainder of the story of this brave devoted warrior shall be told hereafter.

The shouts and cries, and the groans and lamentations, within and without, made Abú-l Hasan aware that all was over. He went into his *harem* to comfort his women, to ask pardon of them, and take leave of them. Then, though his heart was sad, he controlled himself, and went to his reception room, and took his seat upon the *masnad*, and watched for the coming of his unbidden guests When the time for taking his meal arrived, he ordered the food to be served up. As Rúhu-llah Khán and others arrived, he saluted them all, and never for a moment lost his dignity. With perfect self-control he received them with courtesy, and spoke to them with warmth and elegance. * *

Abú-l Hasan called for his horse and accompanied the *amirs*,

carrying a great wealth of pearls upon his neck. When he was introduced into the presence of Prince Muhammad A'zam Sháh, he took off his necklace of pearls and presented it to the Prince in a most graceful way The Prince took it, and placing his hand upon his back, he did what he could to console and encourage him. He then conducted him to the presence of Aurangzeb, who also received him very courteously. After a few days the Emperor sent him to the fortress of Daulatábád, and settled a suitable allowance for providing him with food, raiment, and other necessaries Officers were appointed to take possession of the effects of Abú-l Hasan and his nobles

'Abdu-r Razzák,[1] senseless, but with a spark of life remaining, was carried to the house of Rúhu-llah Khán As soon as the eyes of Saf-shikan Khán fell upon him, he cried out, "This is that vile Lárí! cut off his head and hang it over the gate" Ruhu-llah replied that to cut off the head of a dying man without orders, when there was no hope of his surviving, was far from being humane A little bird made the matter known to Aurangzeb, who had heard of 'Abdu-r Razzák's daring and courage and loyalty, and he graciously ordered that two surgeons, one a European, the other a Hindú, should be sent to attend the wounded man, who were to make daily reports of his condition to Aurangzeb

The Emperor sent for Rúhu-llah Khán, and told him that if Abú-l Hasan had possessed only one more servant devoted like 'Abdu-r Razzák, it would have taken much longer to subdue the fortress. The surgeons reported that they had counted nearly seventy wounds, besides the many wounds upon wounds which could not be counted. Although one eye was not injured, it was probable that he would lose the sight of both. They were directed carefully to attend to his cure At the end of sixteen days, the doctors reported that he had opened

[1] In a subsequent page (390) the author says that he lived for some time with *Abdu-r Razzák near Ráhiri* This accounts for the long notice he has given of that brave soldier

one eye, and spoken a few faltering words expressing a hope of recovery. Aurangzeb sent a message to him, forgiving him his offences, and desiring him to send his eldest son 'Abdu-l Kádir with his other sons, that they might receive suitable *mansabs* and honours, and return thanks for the pardon granted to their father, and for the *mansabs* and other favours. When this gracious message reached that devoted and peerless hero, he gasped out a few words of reverence and gratitude, but he said that there was little hope of his recovery. If, however, it pleased the Almighty to spare him and give him a second life, it was not likely that he would be fit for service, but should he ever be capable of service, he felt that no one who had eaten the salt of Abú-l Hasan, and had thriven on his bounty, could enter the service of King 'Álamgír (Aurangzeb) On hearing these words, a cloud was seen to pass over the face of His Majesty, but he kindly said, "When he is quite well, let me know" Most of 'Abdu-r Razzák's property had been plundered, but such as was left was given over to him

[1] Some time afterwards it was reported that 'Abdu-r Razzák had got quite well, and an order was issued to the *Subadár* to send him to the royal presence 'Abdu-r Razzák tried to excuse himself, and expressed a wish to go with his children on the pilgrimage to Mecca, on returning from which blessed journey he would devote himself to prayer for the long life of His Majesty Orders were then given for arresting him and sending him to Court Fíroz Jang got information of this, and with great sympathy invited 'Abdu-r Razzák to come and stay with him He kept him for some time with marked kindness, and after the lapse of a year 'Abdu-r Razzák entered the Imperial service with a *mansab* of 4000 and 3000 horse

The property of Abú-l Hasan which was recovered after its dispersion amounted to eight *lacs* and fifty-one thousand *huns*, and two *krors* and fifty-three thousand rupees, altogether six

[1] In the text ten pages intervene before this finish of 'Abdu-r Razzák's story is brought in It appears in the thirty-second year of the reign

krors eighty *lacs* and ten thousand rupees, besides jewels, inlaid articles and vessels of gold and silver The total in *dáms* was one *arb* fifteen *krors* sixteen *lacs* and a fraction, which was the sum entered on the records.

The mud fort of Golkonda was built by the ancestors of Rája Deo Rái, and it was acquired by the Bahmaní Sultáns after a good deal of resistance Upon the fall of the Bahmaní dynasty, their territories fell into the hands of a number of petty chiefs, but Sultán Muhammad Kulí, entitled Kutbu-l Mulk, who had been one of the nobles of Sultán Muhammad Sháh Bahmaní, brought some of the provinces of the Dakhin under his rule For the old mud fort of Rája Deo Rái, which stood upon the summit of a hill, he substituted one of stone. After some descents, the kingdom came to Muhammad Kutbu-l Mulk, for all the descendants bore the name of Kutbu-l Mulk. He took great pains in repairing the fort of Golkonda He had a wife named Bhágmatí, of whom he was very fond At her request, he built a city two *kos* distant from the fortress, to which he gave the name of Bhágnagar Some time after the death of Bhágmatí, the name was changed to Haidarábád, but in the vernacular language of the people it is still called Bhágnagar. That woman[1] had established many brothels and drinking shops in that place, and the rulers had always been addicted to pleasure and to all sorts of debauchery Abú-l Hasan exceeded all his predecessors in his devotion to pleasure. So the city got an evil name for licentiousness. After the conquest by Aurangzeb, it was called the hostile country (*dáru-l jihád*) [*Surrender of the fort of Sakar between Haidarábad and Bijapúr.*]

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1099 A H. (1688 A D.)

[*Surrender of the fort of Adhoni to Prince Muhammad A'zam Sháh.*]

[1] The words are explicit

THIRTY-THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1100 A.H. (1689 A.D.)

[Text, vol. ii. p. 372.] The plague *(tá'ún)* and pestilence *(wabá)*, which had for several years been in the Dakhin as far as the port of Surat and the city of Ahmadábád, now broke out with violence in Bíjápúr, and in the royal camp. It was so virulent that when an individual was attacked with it, he gave up all hope, and thought only about his nursing and mourning. The black-pated guest-slayer of the sky sought to pick out the seed of the human race from the field of the world, and the cold blast of destruction tried to cut down the tree of life in every living being, and to remove every shoot and sign of life from the surface of the world. The visible marks of the plague were swellings as big as a grape or banana under the arms, behind the ears, and in the groin, and a redness was perceptible round the pupils of the eyes, as in fever or pestilence *(wabá)*. It was the business of heirs to provide for the interment of the dead, but thousands of obscure and friendless persons of no property died in the towns and markets, and very few of them had the means of burial. * * It began in the twenty-seventh year of the reign, and lasted for seven or eight years.

THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1101 A.H. (1690 A.D.)

Operations against the Mahrattas. Capture and Execution of Sambhá.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 383.] Prince Muhammad A'zam Sháh was sent with an army and some experienced *amírs* to punish the infidels about Bahádur-garh and Gulshanábád.[1] Fíroz Jang, with another army, was sent to reduce the forts in the neighbourhood of Rájgarh. Mukarrab Khan, otherwise called Shaikh Nizám Haidarábádí, was sent against the infidel Sambhá. Each of them endeavoured to distinguish himself in the performance of the service on which he had been sent. Mukarrab Khán was

[1] In Baglána, near Junír. See *post*, p. 345.

distinguished above all the nobles of the Dakhin for his military knowledge and enterprise He laid siege to the fort of Parnála, near Kolápúr, and sent out his spies in all directions to gather intelligence, and especially to get information about Sambhá, who in his vile and evil course of life was ten times worse than his father Sivají * *

This ill-bred fellow left his old home at Ráhírí, and went to the fort of Khelna. After satisfying himself of the state of its stores, and the settlement of the country round, under the guidance of adverse fortune, which kept him ignorant of the approach of the Imperial forces, he went to bathe in the waters of the Bán-Ganga, on the borders of the district of Sangamnír,[1] one day's journey from the sea-shore The place was situated in a valley, surrounded by high mountains of difficult passage. Here Kabkalas, the filthy dog, had built a house, embellished with paintings, and surrounded with a garden full of fruit-trees and flowers Sambhá, with Kabkalas, and his wives, and his son Sáhú, went there, accompanied with a force of two or three thousand horse, entirely unaware of the approach of the falcon of destiny After bathing, he lingered there, viewing the lofty hills, the arduous roads full of ascents and descents, and the thick woods of thorny trees Unlike his father, he was addicted to wine, and fond of the society of handsome women, and gave himself up to pleasure Messengers brought him intelligence of the active movements of Mukarrab Khan, but he was absorbed in the pleasures which bring so many men of might to their ruin.

Mukarrab Khán started boldly from his base at Kolápúr, which was forty-five *kos* distant from the retreat to which Sambhá had resorted He took with him two thousand horse and one thousand foot, selected men The reports brought to him represented that the road was steep and arduous, over high hills, and that thirty or forty men without arms might hold the road against a large army by throwing down stones. But that brave leader heeded

[1] Sangameshwar, in the Ghats. See Grant Duff, vol i p 359

none of these objections * * He set out and made a rapid march, and in the most difficult places they came to he himself went first on foot. * * They pressed on, and approached near the place where the doomed one was staying

It is said that Sambhá's scouts informed him of the approach of the royal army, or the "Mughal army," as it was called in the language of the Mahrattas. But the heedless fellow scouted the idea of any Mughal army penetrating to that place He ordered the tongues of the reporters to be cut out, and did not even take care to have his horses ready, or to prepare any earthworks

Mukarrab Khán, with his sons and nephews, ten or twelve brave personal attendants, and two or three hundred horsemen, fell sword in hand upon the heedless Sambhá, who too late thought of defending himself Kabkalas, his *wazír*, was well known for his courage and daring He did his best to save him, and, with a party of Mahrattas, advanced to meet the assailants At the commencement of the fight he received an arrow in the right arm, which rendered the limb useless He fell from his horse, exclaiming that he would remain there Sambhá, who was about to take to flight, sprang from his horse, and said that he would stay with him. Four or five Mahrattas were cut down, but all the rest of Sambhá's men fled Kabkalas was taken prisoner, Sambhá went for refuge into an idol temple, and there hid himself The place was surrounded, and he was discovered. Several of his followers, of no importance, were killed, but he and his family, including his son Sáhú, a boy of seven or eight years of age, were all made prisoners. All his men and women, twenty-six individuals in number, were taken, and also two women belonging to Rám Rája, his younger brother, whom he kept confined in one of his forts. The hands of all of them were bound, and they were brought to the feet of the elephant on which Mukarrab Khán was riding Although Sambhá, in the brief interval, had shaved off his beard, smeared his face with ashes, and changed his clothes, he was discovered by a necklace

of pearls under his garments, and by the gold rings upon the legs of his horse. Mukarrab Khán made him ride behind him on the same elephant, and the other captives were chained and carried off, some on elephants, some on horses

A despatch was sent to His Majesty, but news of the exploit reached him first through the news-reporters, and was a cause of great rejoicing When the intelligence came that Mukarrab Khán was approaching with his prisoners, His Majesty ordered * * a large party to go out two *kos* from Aklúj,[1] where he was staying, to give the victor a ceremonious reception It is said that during the four or five days when Mukarrab Khán was known to be coming with his prisoners, the rejoicings were so great among all classes, from chaste matrons to miserable men, that they could not sleep at night, and they went out two *kos* to meet the prisoners, and give expression to their satisfaction In every town and village on the road or near it, wherever the news reached, there was great delight, and wherever they passed, the doors and roofs were full of men and women, who looked on rejoicing * *

After their arrival, Aurangzeb held a *darbár*, and the prisoners were brought in On seeing them, he descended from his throne, and made two *ruk'ats* as a mark of his gratitude to the Almighty It is said that Kabkalas observed this He was well versed in Hindí poetry, and although his head and neck and every limb was firmly secured so that he could use only his eyes and tongue, when he saw Aurangzeb make these signs of devotion, he looked at Sambhá, and repeated some Hindí lines to this effect, "O Rája, at the sight of thee the King 'Álamgír (Aurangzeb), for all his pomp and dignity, cannot keep his seat upon his throne, but has perforce descended from it to do thee honour"

After they had been sent to their places of confinement, some of the councillors of the State advised that their lives

[1] On the south of the river Níra about half way between Bijápúr and Púna It is the 'Aldús' of Elphinstone's map

should be spared, and that they should be kept in perpetual confinement, on condition of surrendering the keys of the fortresses held by the adherents of Sambhá. But the doomed wretches knew that, after all, their heads would fall upon the scaffold, or that, if by abject submission and baseness, they escaped death, they would be kept in confinement deprived of all the pleasures of life, and every day of life would be a new death So both Sambhá and Kabkalas indulged in abusive language, and uttered the most offensive remarks in the hearing of the Emperor's servants But it was the will of God that the stock of this turbulent family should not be rooted out of the Dakhin, and that King Aurangzeb should spend the rest of his life in the work of repressing them and taking their fortresses The Emperor was in favour of seizing the opportunity of getting rid of these prime movers of the strife, and hoped that with a little exertion their fortresses would be reduced. He therefore rejected the advice, and would not consent to spare them on condition of receiving the keys of the fortresses He gave orders that the tongues of both should be cut out, so that they might no longer speak disrespectfully After that, their eyes were to be torn out Then, with ten or eleven other persons, they were to be put to death with a variety of tortures, and lastly he ordered that the skins of the heads of Sambhá and Kabkalas should be stuffed with straw, and exposed in all the cities and towns of the Dakhin, with beat of drum and sound of trumpet Such is the retribution for rebellious, violent, oppressive evil-doers

Sáhú, the son of Sambhá, a boy of seven years of age, was spared, and orders were given for his being kept within the limits of the palace Suitable teachers were appointed to educate him, and a *mansab* of 700 was granted to him * * Some women, including the mother and daughters of Sambhá, were sent to the fortress of Daulatábád

When the author was staying along with 'Abdu-r Razzák Lárí near the fort of Ráhírí, which Sivají built, he heard from the people of the neighbourhood that Sivají, although an infidel

and a rebel, was a wise man The country round may be called a specimen of hell, for it is hilly and stony, and in the hot season water is very scarce, which is a great trouble to the inhabitants Sivají had a well dug near his abode. A pavement was laid down round the mouth, and a stone seat was erected Upon this bench Sivají would take his seat, and when the women of the traders and poor people came to draw water, he would give their children fruit, and talk to the women as to his mother and sisters When the *raj* descended to Sambhá, he also used to sit upon this bench; and when the wives and daughters of the *raiyats* came to draw water, the vile dog would lay one hand upon their pitcher, and another upon their waist, and drag them to the seat There he would handle them roughly and indecently, and detain them for a while. The poor woman, unable to help herself, would dash the pitcher from her head, but she could not escape without gross insult At length the *raiyats* of the country settled by his father abandoned it, and fled to the territory of the Firingis, which was not far off He received the reward of his deeds.

Thirty-fifth Year of the Reign, 1102 A H (1691 A D)

[Text, vol II p 391.] Aurangzeb was desirous of rewarding Mukarrab Khán for his splendid and unparalleled success * * * He granted to him an increase of 1000 horse, gave him the title of Khán-Zamán Fath-Jang, a present of 50,000 rupees, and of a horse, elephant, etc., etc His son, Ikhlás Khán, who held a *mansab* of 4000 personal and 4000 horse, had it increased a thousand, and received the title of Khán-i 'Álam His four or five sons and nephews also received titles and marks of favour

About this time it was reported that Rájgarh, one of the forts of Sivají and Sambhá, had been taken Abú-l Khair Khán was appointed its commandant * * Before the news of the capture of Sambhá reached that neighbourhood, the enemy invested the place, and summoned Abú-l Khaír to surrender Although the

force under Fíroz Jang was near at hand, Abú-l Khair was frightened, and was so craven as to surrender on a promise of safety to his life, his family, and his property. He left the place at night with some of his women in *dúlis* and the rest on foot, and he had with him several baskets and boxes of clothing, money, jewels, etc. The Mahrattas had gathered round, waiting for him, and although they had promised security to life and property, they stripped him of all he had, and left him in miserable plight. In the middle of the night he reached the army of Fíroz Jang, full of complaints and remorse He was deprived of his *mansab* and *jagir*, and was sent on the pilgrimage.

Turbulence of the Játs.

[Text, vol ii. p 394] It was now reported from Ágra that when Ághar Khán came there under orders from Kábul, a party of Játs attacked the caravan near Ágra. They seized the cattle and plundered the carts which were in the rear, and carried off some women as prisoners. Ághar Khán pursued them to the neighbourhood of a fort, where, after a sharp struggle, he rescued the women He then boldly invested the fort, but he was killed by a musket-ball His son-in-law was also killed Khan-Jahán Kokaltásh had formerly failed in executing a commission to restrain the Játs, and for this and some displeasing actions he was recalled, and Prince Bedár Bakht was appointed on the duty

An order was issued that no Hindú should ride in a *pálki* or on an Arab horse without permission

THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1103 A H. (1692 A D)

[Text, vol ii. p 397] In the beginning or towards the middle of this year, Aurangzeb moved from Gúrgáon[1] and Shikárpúr to Bídr, and after a while from thence to Gulka, one day's march from Bíjápúr, where the camp was pitched. The

[1] The previous march was from Aklúj to Gúrgáon (Text, p 393)

evil days of Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam now drew to a close, and it pleased the Emperor to show him kindness. * * * He directed that the shaving of the head and other rigours of prison discipline should be forbidden, and he held out to the Prince hopes of release.

The Hindí names of many places end with the letter *h*, which there was a tendency to pronounce like *alif* in such names as Málwah, Bangálah, Baglánah, and Parnálah. * * Orders were given that such names should be written with an *alif*, as Málwá, Bangálá, Bagláná, etc.

Mukhlis Khán, *darogha* of the artillery, reported that some of the Mahratta chiefs had taken Rám Rája, brother of the late Sambhá, out of confinement, and had raised him to the *ráj* in succession to his father and brother They had assembled large forces with the vain intention of besieging fortresses. He sent robes and presents to the officers in command of his own forts, and, like his father and brother, he appointed different leaders to plunder the country, and to get possession of forts

The Portuguese

[Text, vol ii p 400] It was mentioned in the history of the reign of Sháh Jahán that Christian traders had come to India to the ports on the sea-shore The officers of the King of Portugal occupied several neighbouring ports and had erected forts in strong positions and under the protection of hills They built villages, and in all matters acted very kindly towards the people, and did not vex them with oppressive taxes They allotted a separate quarter for the Musulmáns who dwelt with them, and appointed a *kazi* over them to settle all matters of taxes and marriage But the call to prayer and public devotion were not permitted in their settlements If a poor traveller had to pass through their possessions, he would meet with no other trouble, but he would not be able to say his prayers at his ease On the sea, they are not like the English, and do not attack other ships, except those ships which have not received their pass

according to rule, or the ships of Arabia or Maskat, with which two countries they have a long-standing enmity, and they attack each other whenever opportunity offers. If a ship from a distant port is wrecked and falls into their hands, they look upon it as their prize. But their greatest act of tyranny is this If a subject of these misbelievers dies, leaving young children, and no grown-up son, the children are considered wards of the State They take them to their places of worship, their churches, which they have built in many places, and the *pádrís*, that is to say the priests, instruct the children in the Christian religion, and bring them up in their own faith, whether the child be a Musulmán *saiyid* or a Hindú *brahman*. They also make them serve as slaves. In the 'Ádil-Sháhí Kokan, close to the sea, in the fine and famous fort of Goa, their governor resides, and there is a captain there who exercises full powers on the part of Portugal. They have also established some other ports and flourishing villages Besides this, the Portuguese occupy the country from fourteen or fifteen *kos* south of Surat to the boundaries of the fort of Bombay, which belongs to the English, and to the borders of the territories of the Habshís, which is called the Nizám-Sháhí Kokan In the rear of the hills of Bagláná, and in strong positions, difficult of access, near the fort of Gulshanábád, they have built seven or eight other forts, small and great Two of these, by name Daman and Basí, which they obtained by fraud from Sultán Bahádur of Gujarát, they have made very strong, and the villages around are flourishing Their possessions measure in length about forty or fifty *kos*; but they are not more than a *kos* or a *kos* and a half in width They cultivate the skirts of the hills, and grow the best products, such as sugar-cane, pine-apples, and rice; and cocoa-nut trees, and betel-nut vines, in vast numbers, from which they derive a very large revenue They have made for use in their districts a silver coin called *ashrafi*, worth nine *ánas* They also use bits of copper which they call *buzurg*, and four of these *buzurgs* pass for a *fulús* The orders of the King (of India) are not current there. When

the people there marry, the girl is given as the dowry, and they leave the management of all affairs, in the house and out of it, to their wives They have only one wife, and concubinage is not permitted by their religion. * * *

Ram Rája.

[Text, vol. ii p 413] Messengers now brought to the knowledge of the Emperor that the forces of Rám Rája had marched in various directions to ravage the territories and reduce the forts belonging to the Imperial throne. The fort of Parnála was one of the highest and most celebrated of the forts belonging to Bíjápúr, and had been captured by the royal forces with a good deal of difficulty It was now taken with little exertion by Rám Rája's officers, and its commandant was wounded and made prisoner It was also reported that Rám Rája had gone to the assistance of the chiefs of Jinjí, and was busy collecting men * * This information greatly troubled His Majesty * * He was about to send Bahramand Khán to lay siege to Parnála, when intelligence came that Prince Mu'izzu-d dín had sat down before it So he resolved to proceed in person to Bairampúrí

THIRTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1104 A.H (1693 A D.)

The Mahrattas

[Text, vol. ii p 414] This year Aurangzeb stayed at Bairampúrí,[1] the name of which was ordered to be changed to Islámpúrí. * * Forces were sent against the fort of Parnála and other forts in various places. * * After the execution of Sambhá, many of the Mahratta chieftains received instructions from Rám Rája to ravage the country. They hovered round the Imperial armies, and were exceedingly daring. * * Among them was Santá Ghor-

[1] Elphinstone calls it "Birmapúri near Panderpúr (Púndharpúr) on the Bhíma." The Survey Map has "Brumhapooree," lower down the river than Púndharpúr, and south-west of Sholápúr

púra and Dalmá Jádú, two experienced warriors and leaders of from fifteen to twenty thousand horse Other Mahratta chiefs submitted to their leadership, and great losses were inflicted on the Imperial forces.

Santá more especially distinguished himself in ravaging the cultivated districts, and in attacking the royal leaders Every one who encountered him was either killed or wounded and made prisoner, or if any one did escape, it was with his mere life, with the loss of his army and baggage Nothing could be done, for wherever the accursed dog went and threatened an attack, there was no Imperial *amír* bold enough to resist him, and every loss he inflicted on their forces made the boldest warriors quake Ismá'íl Khán was accounted one of the bravest and most skilful warriors of the Dakhin, but he was defeated in the first action, his army was plundered, and he himself was wounded and made prisoner After some months he obtained his release, on the payment of a large sum of money. So also Rustam Khán, otherwise called Sharza Khán, the Rustam of the time and as brave as a lion, was defeated by him in the district of Sattára, and after losing his baggage and all that he had with him, he was taken prisoner, and had to pay a large sum for his ransom 'Alí Mardán Khán, otherwise called Husainí Beg Haidarábádí, * * was defeated and made prisoner with several others After a detention of some days, they obtained their release on paying a ransom of two *lacs* of rupees.

These evil tidings greatly troubled Aurangzeb * * Further, news came that Santá had fought with Ján-nisár Khán and Tahawwur Khán, on the borders of the Karnátik, and had inflicted upon them a severe defeat and the loss of their artillery and baggage Ján-nisár Khán was wounded, and escaped with difficulty. Tahawwur Khán was also wounded, and lay among the dead, but was restored to life Many other renowned *amírs* met with similar defeats. Aurangzeb was greatly distressed, but in public he said that the creature could do nothing, for everything was in the hands of God

THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1105 A H. (1694 A D).

Siege of Jinjí. Arrest of Prince Kám Bakhsh.

[Text, vol ii p. 418.] Prince Muhammad Kám Bakhsh, with Jamdatu-l Mulk Asad Khán and Zúl-fikár Khán Nusrat Jang, approached Jinjí,[1] and encamping about a cannon-shot off the fortress, began to prepare for the siege. The fortress of Jinjí occupies several adjacent hills, on each of which stands a fort bearing a distinct name Two of these hills are very high, and the forts were well furnished with artillery, provisions, and all necessary stores It was impossible to invest all the forts, but the lines were allotted to different commanders, and every exertion was made for digging mines and erecting batteries * * The garrison also did their best to put the place in order, and make a stout defence From time to time they fired a gun or two. The *zamíndárs* far and near of the country round, and the Mahratta forces, surrounded the royal army on all sides, and showed great audacity in cutting off supplies Sometimes they burst unexpectedly into an intrenchment, doing great damage to the works, and causing great confusion in the besieging force * *

The siege had gone on for a long time, and many men fell, but although the enemy's relieving force day by day increased, Zúl-fikár Khán Nusrat Jang and the other generals so pressed the siege that it went hard with the garrison The command of the army and the general management of civil and revenue affairs in that part of the country were in the hands of Jamdatu-l Mulk and Nusrat Jang This gave great offence to Prince Muhammad Kám Bakhsh, and Jamdatu-l Mulk and Nusrat Jang had to admonish him, and speak to him sharply about some youthful follies The Prince was greatly offended The Prince wished that the siege should be carried on in his name, but the generals acted on their own authority Day by day the dissensions increased The besieged were aware of these differences, and contrived to open communications with the Prince, and to fan the

[1] Eighty miles south-west of Madras

flames of his discontent, so that great danger threatened the army.

Intelligence now camé of the approach of Santá, and the enemy's forces so closed round the royal army and shut up the roads, that for some days there were no communications whatever between the army and His Majesty Messages still came to the Prince from the garrison, exciting his apprehensions, and holding out allurements He was vexed with Jamdatu-l Mulk's opposition, and no communications arrived from the Emperor, so he was on the point of going over to the enemy Jamdatu-l Mulk and Nusrat Jang were informed of this, and they surrounded his tents, and made the Prince prisoner

When these troubles and discords were at their height, Santá came down upon the royal army with twenty-five thousand horse, and reduced it to such straits, that the commanders deemed it expedient to leave their baggage and some of their *matériel* to be plundered by Santá, and to retire into the hills for refuge Every one was to carry off what he could, and the idea was that Santá would stop to plunder what was left, and not follow the retreating force. Accordingly the two generals retired fighting for some *kos*, till they reached the shelter of the hills, when they beat off Santá A few days afterwards they renewed the siege, and the garrison was hard pressed According to report, a sum of money reached the enemy, and they evacuated the fortress and retired.

When intelligence of the arrest of Prince Muhammad Kám Bakhsh reached Aurangzeb, he apparently acquiesced in it as a matter of necessity. The news of the reduction of the fortress came soon afterwards, and he applauded the services performed by the two generals In reality, he was offended, and summoned the Prince with the two generals to his presence The Prince was brought up under arrest. After waiting upon Aurangzeb, he addressed a few words of admonition to Jamdatu-l Mulk, but afterwards the marks of his displeasure became more apparent. Orders were given to set the Prince at liberty.

Capture of a Royal Ship by the English. The English at Bombay.

[Text, vol ii p. 421] The royal ship called the *Ganj-i sawái*, than which there was no larger in the port of Surat, used to sail every year for the House of God (at Mecca) It was now bringing back to Surat fifty-two *lacs* of rupees in silver and gold, the produce of the sale of Indian goods at Mocha and Jedda The captain of this ship was Ibráhím Khán * * There were eighty guns and four hundred muskets on board, besides other implements of war It had come within eight or nine days of Surat, when an English ship came in sight, of much smaller size, and not having a third or fourth part of the armament of the *Ganj-i sawai*. When it came within gun-shot, a gun was fired at it from the royal ship By ill-luck, the gun burst, and three or four men were killed by its fragments About the same time, a shot from the enemy struck and damaged the mainmast, on which the safety of the vessel depends The Englishmen perceived this, and being encouraged by it, bore down to attack, and drawing their swords, jumped on board of their opponent The Christians are not bold in the use of the sword, and there were so many weapons on board the royal vessel that if the captain had made any resistance, they must have been defeated But as soon as the English began to board, Ibráhím Khán ran down into the hold There were some Turkí girls whom he had bought in Mocha as concubines for himself He put turbans on their heads and swords into their hands, and incited them to fight These fell into the hands of the enemy, who soon became perfect masters of the ship They transferred the treasure and many prisoners to their own ship When they had laden their ship, they brought the royal ship to shore near one of their settlements, and busied themselves for a week searching for plunder, stripping the men, and dishonouring the women, both old and young. They then left the ship, carrying off the men. Several honourable women, when they found an opportunity, threw them-

selves into the sea, to preserve their chastity, and some others killed themselves with knives and daggers.

This loss was reported to Aurangzeb, and the news-writers of the port of Surat sent some rupees which the English had coined at Bombay, with a superscription containing the name of their impure King Aurangzeb then ordered that the English factors who were residing at Surat for commerce should be seized Orders were also given to I'timád Khán, superintendent of the port of Surat, and Sídí Yákút Khán, to make preparations for besieging the fort of Bombay The evils arising from the English occupation of Bombay were of long standing The English were not at all alarmed at the threatenings They knew that Sídí Yákút was offended at some slights he had received. But they were more active than usual in building bastions and walls, and in blocking up the roads, so that in the end they made the place quite impregnable I'timád Khán saw all these preparations, and came to the conclusion that there was no remedy, and that a struggle with the English would result only in a heavy loss to the customs revenue He made no serious preparations for carrying the royal order into execution, and was not willing that one rupee should be lost to the revenue. To save appearances, he kept the English factors in confinement, but privately he endeavoured to effect an arrangement After the confinement of their factors, the English, by way of reprisal, seized upon every Imperial officer, wherever they found one, on sea or on shore, and kept them all in confinement. So matters went on for a long time

During these troubles I, the writer of this work, had the misfortune of seeing the English of Bombay, when I was acting as agent for 'Abdu-r Razzák Khán at the port of Surat I had purchased goods to the value of nearly two *lacs* of rupees, and had to convey them from Surat to 'Abdu-r Razzák, the *faujdár* of Ráhirí My route was along the sea-shore through the possessions of the Portuguese and English On arriving near Bombay, but while I was yet in the Portuguese territory,

in consequence of a letter from 'Abdu-r Razzák, I waited ten or twelve days for the escort of Sídí Yákút Khán. 'Abdu-r Razzák had been on friendly terms with an Englishman in his old Haidarábád days, and he had now written to him about giving assistance to the convoy The Englishman sent out the brother of his *díwán*, very kindly inviting me to visit him. The Portuguese captain and my companions were averse to my going there with such valuable property. I, however, put my trust in God, and went to the Englishman I told the *díwán's* brother, that if the conversation turned upon the capture of the ship, I might have to say unpleasant things, for I would speak the truth. The Englishman's *vakíl* advised me to say freely what I deemed right, and to speak nothing but the truth

When I entered the fortress, I observed that from the gate there was on each side of the road a line of youths, of twelve or fourteen years of age, well dressed, and having excellent muskets on their shoulders Every step I advanced, young men with sprouting beards, handsome and well clothed, with fine muskets in their hands, were visible on every side As I went onwards, I found Englishmen standing, with long beards, of similar age, and with the same accoutrements and dress After that I saw musketeers (*bark-andaz*), young men well dressed and arranged, drawn up in ranks. Further on, I saw Englishmen with white beards, clothed in brocade, with muskets on their shoulders, drawn up in two ranks, and in perfect array. Next I saw some English children, handsome, and wearing pearls on the borders of their hats In the same way, on both sides, as far as the door of the house where he abode, I found drawn up in ranks on both sides nearly seven thousand musketeers, dressed and accoutred as for a review.

I then went straight up to the place where he was seated on a chair He wished me Good-day, his usual form of salutation, then he rose from his chair, embraced me, and signed for me to sit down on a chair in front of him After a few kind inquiries, our discourse turned upon different things, pleasant

and unpleasant, bitter and sweet, but all he said was in a kind and friendly spirit towards 'Abdu-r Razzák. He inquired why his factors had been placed in confinement. Knowing that God and the Prophet of God would protect me, I answered, "Although you do not acknowledge that shameful action, worthy of the reprobation of all sensible men, which was perpetrated by your wicked men, this question you have put to me is as if a wise man should ask where the sun is when all the world is filled with its rays" He replied, "Those who have an ill-feeling against me cast upon me the blame for the fault of others How do you know that this deed was the work of my men? by what satisfactory proof will you establish this?" I replied, "In that ship I had a number of wealthy acquaintances, and two or three poor ones, destitute of all worldly wealth I heard from them that when the ship was plundered, and they were taken prisoners, some men, in the dress and with the looks of Englishmen, and on whose hands and bodies there were marks, wounds, and scars, said in their own language, 'We got these scars at the time of the siege of Sídí Yákút, but to-day the scars have been removed from our hearts' A person who was with them knew Hindí and Persian, and he translated their words to my friends"

On hearing this, he laughed loudly, and said, "It is true they may have said so They are a party of Englishmen, who, having received wounds in the siege of Yákút Khán, were taken prisoners by him Some of them parted from me, joined the *Habshi*, and became Musulmáns They stayed with Yákút Khán some time, and then ran away from him But they had not the face to come back to me Now they have gone and taken part with the *dingmárs*, or *sakanas*, who lay violent hands on ships upon the sea, and with them they are serving as pirates. Your sovereign's officers do not understand how they are acting, but cast the blame upon me."

I smiling replied, "What I have heard about your readiness of reply and your wisdom, I have (now) seen All praise to your ability for giving off-hand, and without consideration, such an

exculpatory and sensible answer? But you must recall to mind that the hereditary Kings of Bíjápúr and Haidarábád and the good-for-nothing Sambhá have not escaped the hands of King Aurangzeb Is the island of Bombay a sure refuge?" I added, "What a manifest declaration of rebellion you have shown in coining rupees!"

He replied, "We have to send every year a large sum of money, the profits of our commerce, to our country, and the coins of the King of Hindústán are taken at a loss. Besides, the coins of Hindústán are of short weight, and much debased, and in this island, in the course of buying and selling them, great disputes arise Consequently we have placed our own names on the coins, and have made them current in our own jurisdiction" A good deal more conversation passed between us, and part of it seemed to vex him, but he showed himself throughout very thoughtful of 'Abdu-r Razzák Khán, and mindful of his obligation to protect him. When the interview was over, he proffered me entertainment in their fashion, but as I had resolved from the first that I would not depart from the usual course in the present interview, I accepted only *atr* and *pan*, and was glad to escape

The total revenue of Bombay, which is chiefly derived from betel-nuts and cocoa-nuts, does not reach to two or three *lacs* of rupees The profits of the commerce of these misbelievers, according to report, does not exceed twenty *lacs* of rupees. The balance of the money required for the maintenance of the English settlement is obtained by plundering the ships voyaging to the House of God, of which they take one or two every year When the ships are proceeding to the ports of Mocha and Jedda laden with the goods of Hindústán, they do not interfere with them, but when they return bringing gold and silver and *Ibráhími* and *rial*,[1] their spies have found out which ship bears the richest burden, and they attack it

[1] "Rix-dollars"—Shakespeare's Dictionary

The Mahrattas also possess the newly-built forts of Khanderí, Kalába, Kása, and Katora,[1] in the sea opposite the island fortress belonging to the *Habshís*. Their war-ships cruise about these forts, and attack vessels whenever they get the opportunity The *sakanas* also, who are sometimes called *bawáríl*, a lawless set of men belonging to Surat, in the province of Ahmadábád, are notorious for their piracies, and they attack from time to time the small ships which come from Bandar 'Abbásí and Maskat. They do not venture to attack the large ships which carry the pilgrims The reprobate English act in the same way as the *sakanas*.

Destruction of a Royal Army by the Mahrattas.

[Text, vol. ii. p 428] Among the events of this year was the defeat of Kásim Khán and * * *, who were sent to Danderí[2] against Santá Ghorpúra * * One day intelligence was brought that Kásim Khán's advanced force had been attacked by a division of the enemy, that all their portable goods had been plundered, and the standing camp set on fire * * Kásim Khán, on hearing this, endeavoured to push forward to their assistance, but he was surrounded by the enemy, and fighting went on till sunset * * They had no food for man or animal The nobles passed the night upon their elephants, and the men with their bridles in their hands * * * At daybreak, the enemy became more daring, and the fighting more severe, for the Mahrattas swarmed on all sides * * For three days the royal forces, over-matched and surrounded, did their best to repulse the enemy, but Kásim Khán was at length compelled to give ground and to

[1] The islands of Khanderi or Kenery, Koluba, and Kánsa near Jinjera Katora has not been identified

[2] The *Tazkira-i Chaghatai* calls it "the little fort of Dundherí", but the *Ma-dsir-i 'Alamgiri* says "the little fort of Dirandi," and gives "Dúdheri" as the place of Himmat Khán's death (*post*, p 357) Scott (vol ii p 95) calls it "Dundoore," and Grant Duff (vol i p 388) "Dodairee" There is a fort of Dodairee in the Survey Map, about 25 miles N E of Chítaldrúg, which is the locality fixed upon by Elphinstone It is wrongly written "Boderi" in Elphinstone's map According to the *T Chaghatai*, Himmat Khán was in a place called Biswápatan before he marched to his death

retire fighting, to the shelter of the fort of Danderí. The chief men got some hay and corn from the fort, but the soldiers got no food Movement in any direction was scarcely possible. Thus they remained for three or four days under the shelter of the walls of the fort, and of the lines they threw up to protect themselves from the assaults of the enemy Their camels and cattle fell into the hands of the Mahrattas. While the fighting went on, the gates of the fort were kept closed, and the traders and inhabitants within let down food from the walls and sold it On the fourth or fifth day the enemy got intelligence that Himmat Khán was coming with a force to the rescue Santá left half his force to keep Kásim Khán's army invested, and with the other marched against Himmat Khán On learning that another force belonging to Rám Rája would act against Himmat Khán, he returned to his former position

Meanwhile matters went ill with the royal forces, and Kásim Khán, with a few other officers, resolved upon taking refuge in the fort secretly, without the knowledge of their brethren in arms * * Kásim Khán went out at night with the ostensible purpose of making the rounds Several reasons made it inexpedient to enter the gate, near which so many men and officers were gathered, so he ascended the walls by a rope-ladder. Rúhu-llah Khán, Saf-shikan Khán, and a crowd of soldiers in great tumult made their way in by the gate Muhammad Murád Khán and others, hearing of this, followed the example * * * In fine, for a month they were besieged within the four walls, and every day affairs grew worse with them They were compelled to kill and eat their baggage and riding horses, which were themselves nearly starved For all the greatest care and economy, the stores of grain in the fort were exhausted. * * To escape from starvation many men threw themselves from the walls and trusted to the enemy's mercy. * * People brought fruit and sweetmeats from the enemy's *bázár* to the foot of the walls, and sold them at extravagant prices * * Reverses, disease, deficiency of water, and want of grain, reduced

the garrison to the verge of death. Kásim Khán, according to report, poisoned himself, or else died from want of the usual potion of opium, for he was overcome with disappointment and rage

Rúhu-llah Khán and the other officers were compelled to make overtures for a capitulation. * * Some officers went out to settle the terms of the ransom Santá said, "Besides the elephants and horses, and money and property, which you have with you, I will not take less than a *lac* of *huns*," equivalent to three *lacs* and 50,000 rupees. A Dakhiní officer said, "What are you thinking of! this is a mere trifle This is a ransom which I would fix for Rúhu-llah Khán alone." Finally, seven *lacs* of rupees was settled as the ransom, the payment of which was to be distributed among the officers Each one's share was settled, and he made an engagement to pay it as ransom, and to leave a relation or officer of rank with Santá as bail for payment Santá's officers sat down at the gate of the fort, and allowed each officer to take out his horse and his personal clothing, the others were allowed to carry out as much as they could bear in their arms Everything else, money and jewels, horses and elephants, etc, were confiscated by Santá. * * The government and personal property lost during this war and siege exceeded fifty or sixty *lacs* of rupees * *

Santá was delighted with the terms he had made with the defeated army Soon afterwards he heard that Himmat Khán was approaching by forced marches to the relief of the besieged army. Santá divided his forces into two divisions, and marched to meet him. At the distance of sixteen *kos* the force under command of Santá fell in with Himmat Khán, and a great battle followed. Himmat Khán fought with great spirit and bravery Numberless Mahrattas were slain, and many of his own army perished Santá's forces retreated, and the royal forces were led against the second army. Himmat Khán made arrangements for the pursuit. By orders of Santá many musketeers had taken positions in the thick jungle and among the trees, to impede the advance of Himmat Khán. Some of the best marksmen had

climbed the trees, and concealed themselves among the thick branches. When Himmat Khán approached, a ball entered his forehead and killed him immediately All the baggage and elephants and munitions of war belonging to Himmat Khán then fell bodily into the hands of Santá.

THIRTY-NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1106 A H (1694–5 A D)

The Royal Princes

[Text, vol ii p 434] Prince Muhammad A'zam Sháh had gone to Kharpa (Kaddapa), to punish the rebels and to settle affairs The insalubrity of the climate affected his health, and dropsy supervened He returned to Court, and experienced physicians were appointed to attend him. * * His illness became so serious that his couch was placed near the chamber of the Emperor, who showed his paternal solicitude by administering his medicine, by partaking of food with him, and doing everything he could to restore him to health God at length gave him a perfect cure

Directions were now given for the release of Prince Sháh 'Álam, who had been kept under restraint for seven years * * His release [*with the provision made for him*] was very annoying to Prince Muhammad A'zam and his partisans

While Prince Sháh 'Álam was in confinement, the Emperor had shown great favour to Prince Muhammad A'zam Sháh, who considered himself to be the heir apparent But now that the elder Prince was restored to full liberty, and to a greater share of attention than before, Prince Muhammad A'zam was much aggrieved * * One day the King took the hand of Prince Sháh 'Álam, and placed him on his right hand * * Then he took the hand of Prince Muhammad A'zam, and made signs for him to sit down on his left This greatly annoyed Prince Muhammad A'zam, and an open quarrel was imminent. * * After a time Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, who had been entitled Sháh 'Álam, was honoured with the title Bahádur Sháh, and

was sent to settle the affairs of Ágra, and to punish the rebels in that quarter * * Soon afterwards Prince Muhammad A'zam was ordered with his sons to Kábul, and Prince Mu'izzu-d dín to Multán.

Death of Santá Ghorpúra.

[p. 445] The death of Santá at this time was a great piece of good fortune for Aurangzeb. The exact particulars of his death are not known; but I will relate what I have heard from men of credit who were with the army Ghazíu-d dín Khán Fíroz Jang, who had been sent to chastise Santá and other robbers, was four or five marches from Bíjápúr. * * Intelligence was brought that Santá Ghorpúra, with an army of 25,000 horse, was at a distance of eight or nine *kos*. * * Fíroz Jang marched towards Bíjápúr, and when he was eight or nine *kos* distant from the city his scouts brought him word that there was a quarrel between Santá and Dahiná Jádú, both of whom were *senapatis*, or generals, * * and they were constantly trying to get the better of each other. Santá was very severe in the punishments he inflicted on his followers For a trifling offence he would cast a man under the feet of an elephant. Many of the Mahratta chiefs had ill-blood against him, and they had conspired with Dahiná Jádú, by letters and by messengers, to get rid of him Hanumant Ráí, a *sardár* of distinction, at the instigation of Dahiná Jádú, made an attack in concert with Jádú's army upon Santá. Dahiná had also won over the great officers who were in company with Santá. They plundered Santá's baggage, and several of the principal *ráwats* of his army went over to Hanumant Many of his men were killed and wounded, and he himself, being deprived of his power, fled to the hills and his own *máwals*. * *

On receipt of orders from Aurangzeb, Fíroz Jang went in pursuit of Santá Dahiná Jádú's army pursued him on the other side. Santá's forces were entirely separated from him and

dispersed. Nágojí Manai,[1] a Mahratta *sardár*, had served for some time in the Imperial army, but subsequently joined his own people. This part of the country was his native land Several years before, Santá had thrown a brother of Nágojí under the feet of an elephant, and this had produced a mortal hatred. Under the guidance of his wife, he led a party in pursuit of Santá He reached a place where Santá, worn and weary, and without attendants, was bathing in a stream. He approached him suddenly, and killed him unawares He then cut off his head, and, placing it in a bag, fastened it behind him on his horse, and carried it off to Dahiná Jádú On the road the bag fell off, and was picked up by some runners and horsemen belonging to the army of Fíroz Jang, who were in pursuit of Santá The head was recognized, and was carried to Lutfullah Khán, commander of Fíroz Jang's advanced guard. * * It was finally sent to Aurangzeb, who gave the bearer of it the title of Khush-khabar Khán The drums of joy were beaten, and the head was ordered to be exposed with ignominy before the army and in several places of the Dakhin

'Abdu-r Razzák Lari

[p 448] 'Abdu-r Razzák Lárí, from the day of entering the royal service, had sought for an excuse for going to his native country * * He was now deprived of the *faujdári* of Ráhírí, and summoned to Court. He did not go, but wrote desiring to be relieved from his *mansab*, and to be allowed to go to Mecca The leave was given, * * but every means was taken to satisfy him, and to avert him from his design But he would not consent, so he received written leave to depart with his family and property, and with marks of favour His three sons did not accompany him, but remained at Court

[1] The text has Nákoná Miyán, Nakomá Miná, etc Grant Duff's version of the name has been adopted

FORTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1107 A.H. (1695–6 A D).

Rám Rája. Prince Akbar. Flood.

[Text, vol. ii p. 450.] Rám Rája, brother of Sambhá, having left the fort of Ját, in the district of Rájgarh, went to Jinjí and other strong places He then proceeded to the fort of Sattára, where he remained seven months When he was informed of the murder of Santá, he sent for Dahiná Jádú, to consult with him about getting together an army, and recommencing the war.

Prince Muhammad Akbar, after the accession of Sultán Husain to the throne of Persia, repeatedly asked for the help of an army to reinstate him in Hindústán. The new Sháh, like his predecessor, excused himself * * The Prince then complained that the climate of Isfahán did not agree with him, and asked permission to reside for a while in Garmsír. The request was granted, and assignments were made of the revenues of that province for his support So the Prince proceeded thither, with an appointed escort of 10,000 *kazilbáshes*

In the month of Muharram of this year the river Bhanra,[1] near which the royal camp was pitched, rose to a great height, and overflowed, causing enormous destruction. The *amirs* had built many houses there. The waters began to overflow at midnight, when all the world was asleep * * The floods carried off about ten or twelve thousand men, with the establishments of the King, and the princes and the *amirs*, horses, bullocks and cattle in countless numbers, tents and furniture beyond all count Numberless houses were destroyed, and some were so completely carried away that not a trace of them was left. Great fear fell on all the army * * The King wrote out prayers with his own hand, and ordered them to be thrown into the water, for the purpose of causing it to subside. * *

[1] The Bhíma The name is written here "Bhanra," but the Index makes it 'Bhanbara' In the *Búdsháh-náma* it was "Bhúnrá" (*supra*, p 54)

Forty-first Year of the Reign, 1108 A.H. (1696–7 A.D.).

[*Attempt to murder Sídí Yákút Khán of Jazíra.*]

Forty-second Year of the Reign, 1109 A.H. (1697–8 A.D.)

The Mahrattas.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 457.] Níbá Sindhiá and other officers of Rám Rája, with an army of eight thousand horse, came to the district of Nandurbár, and attacked and burnt several villages. When he heard that Husain 'Alí Khán was approaching from Thálír,[1] he suspended his operations against Nandurbár, and went to meet him. Husain Khán had only seven or eight hundred horse and two or three thousand provincial musketeers and archers, but he went forth to meet the enemy. They encountered each other at two *kos* from the town of Thálír, and a fierce action ensued. * * The number of Sindhiá's forces enabled him to surround Husain 'Alí Khán, about three hundred of whose men were killed. The day went against Husain 'Alí, and he had received two or three wounds. Dripping with blood, he threw himself from his elephant, but he had no strength left for fighting, so he was surrounded and made prisoner. All his baggage, his men, and elephants were captured.

In addition to the cash and property which they had got by plunder, the enemy fixed two *lacs* of rupees as the price of the ransom of the prisoners. After much exertion, nearly one *lac* and 80,000 rupees was raised from the *jagirs*, and from the property which had been left in the town of Thálír. To make up the balance, the *sarrafs* and merchants of Nandurbár were importuned to raise a sum, small or great, by way of loan. But they would not consent. The inhabitants of the town of Nandurbár had not paid the *chauth* to the Mahrattas, and being supported by the *faujdar*, they had closed their gates, which greatly annoyed the enemy (Mahrattas). Husain 'Alí Khán also was greatly incensed

[1] "Tálner," east of Nandurbár

by their refusal to assist him; so he took counsel with the enemy, and agreed that after a siege of a day or two, and some exhibition of force, he would open the gates to them. He made it a condition that the *raiyats* should not be plundered, but that the great and wealthy men, the *sarráfs*, the merchants, and the *mukaddams*, might be put to the rack and tortured until the balance of the ransom due to the Mahrattas was discharged. The result was that a sum of one *lac* and forty thousand rupees was paid to the Mahrattas instead of eighty thousand, and that Husain 'Alí Khán himself realized nearly thirty thousand rupees When (the result of the action) was reported to Aurangzeb, he was very angry, and said that there was no use in fighting when too weak to win

Forty-third Year of the Reign, 1110 A H (1698-9 A D).

Campaign against the Mahrattas. Siege of Sattára.

[Text, vol ii p 459] The daring inroads of the Mahrattas brought Aurangzeb to the resolution of waging a holy war against them, and of reducing the fortresses which were their homes and defences His camp had now remained at Islámpúri four years, and fine mansions and houses had been built there, so that a new city had sprung up, and men thought they would never move far away. Orders were given for throwing up earthworks round the place, and the officers and men worked so well that in fifteen or twenty days a defence was raised which might have occupied six or seven months. The Nawáb Kudsíya Zínatu-n Nissa, sister of Prince Muhammad A'zam Sháh, and mother of Muhammad Kám Bakhsh, with other ladies of the royal household, were left there under the charge of Jamdatu-l Mulk Asad Khán. Orders were also given that all *amirs* and officers should leave their wives and families and property behind The people belonging to the royal establishments were also to remain. Strict orders were also given that no *ahadi* should take his wife or children with him. Great stress was laid

upon this order, but in the marches and campaigns of Hindústán such orders could not be enforced without resorting to such punishments as the Princes of the House of Tímúr held to be inconsistent with their sense of justice So the order was not obeyed as it ought to have been On the 5th Jumáda-l awwal the army marched towards the fort of Basant-garh,[1] and in twenty days it arrived at Murtaza-ábád, or Mirich. There Prince Muhammad A'zam Sháh came, in obedience to summons, from Bír-gánw

Rám Rája, brother of the deceased Sambhá, had, under the pressure of the royal armies, abandoned his fortresses and fled, taking refuge in the hills and places of difficult access When he heard of the royal design upon the fortresses, he went off towards Birár, ravaging the towns and inhabited places The *Zamíndár* of Deogarh, in consequence of disturbances in his country, and the superior force of those who disputed the inheritance, had fled to the Court of Aurangzeb, and had received the title of Buland-bakht upon his becoming a Musulmán Upon hearing of the death of his competitor, he hastened back to Deogarh without leave, and opposed the officers who were appointed to collect the tribute He now joined Rám Rája in plundering the country His Majesty ordered that his name should be changed to Nigún-bakht, and that Prince Bedár Bakht should march against him with a suitable force * * Rúhu-llah Khán *Bakhshi*, with Hámidu-d dín Khán, were sent to plunder the environs of the forts of Parnála and Sattára When the royal army came near to Basant-garh, Tarbiyat Khán, the commander of artillery, was ordered to take steps for investing the place and throwing up lines * * The word was given for an assault, but the besieged were frightened and surrendered Aurangzeb gave to the place the name *Kilíd-i futúh*, Key of Victory.

At the end of Jumáda-s sání the royal army arrived opposite Sattára, and the camp was pitched at the distance of a *kos* and

[1] Between the Kistná and Koeena, about thirty miles south of Sattára.

a half Prince Muhammad A'zam Sháh encamped on another side, and the *amirs* and officers were posted according to the judgment of Tarbiyat Khán. They all vied with each other in throwing up lines, digging mines, and in carrying on other siege operations * * On both sides a heavy fire was kept up, * * and the garrison rolled down great stones, which came bounding down and crushed many men and animals The rain obstructed the arrival of corn, the enemy were very daring in attacking the convoys, and the country for twenty *kos* round the fortress had been burnt, so that grain and hay became very scarce and dear A battery twenty-four yards (*dar'a*) high was thrown up in face of the hill, and on the Prince's side also the batteries were carried to the foot of the hill A hundred and sixty thousand rupees were paid for the services of the troops and *máwalis* of that country, who are very efficient in sieges * * Matters went hard with the garrison, and the chance of firing a gun or a musket was no longer in their power, all they could do was to roll down stones from the walls * *

Stone-masons were employed by the besiegers to cut two vaults in the side of the rock four yards long and ten yards broad, which were to be used as stations for sentinels. But when they were found not to answer for this purpose, they were filled with powder * * On the morning of the 5th Zí-l ka'da, in the fourth month of the siege, one of these was fired The rock and the wall above it were blown into the air and fell inside the fortress. Many of the garrison were blown up and burnt The besiegers, on beholding this, pushed boldly forwards At that time the second mine was fired A portion of the rock above was blown up, but instead of falling into the fortress, as was expected, it came down upon the heads of the besiegers like a mountain of destruction, and several thousands[1] were buried under it * * The garrison then set about repairing the walls, and they again opened fire and rolled down the life-destroying stones.

When Aurangzeb was informed of the disaster, and of the

[1] "Nearly two thousand"—*Ma-ásir-i 'Álamgírí*

despondency of his men, he mounted his horse, and went to the scene of action as if in search of death He gave orders that the bodies of the dead should be piled upon each other, and made to serve as shields against the arrows of calamity, then with the ladder of resolution, and the scaling-ropes of boldness, the men should rush to the assault When he perceived that his words made no impression on the men, he was desirous to lead the way himself, accompanied by Muhammad A'zam Sháh. But the nobles objected to this rash proposition Afterwards he addressed his soldiers in encouraging words * * [*and gave fresh orders for the conduct of the siege*]

An extraordinary incident now occurred A great number of Hindú infantry soldiers had been killed all at once (in the explosion), and their friends were unable to seek and bring out their bodies The violence of the shock had entirely disfigured them, and it was not possible to distinguish between Musulman and Hindú, friend and stranger The flames of animosity burst forth among all the gunners against the commander of the artillery. So at night they secretly set fire to the defences (*mar hala*),[1] which had been raised at great trouble and expense against the fire from above, in the hope and with the design that the fire might reach the corpses of the slaughtered Hindús A great conflagration followed, and for the space of a week served as a bright lamp both for besiegers and besieged A number of Hindus and Musulmáns who were alive in the huts were unable to escape, and were burnt, the living with the dead.

Death of Rám Rája

[Text, vol ii p. 468] The news-writers now reported that Rám Rája, after meeting with some reverses in his raid upon Birár, was returning to the hills of his own territory On his way he died, leaving three sons of tender years, and two wives.

1 "Which were constructed entirely of wood"—*Ma-dsir-i 'Álamgiri*, p 419

Soon afterwards it was announced that the eldest son, a boy of five years of age, had died of small-pox The chiefs then made Tárá Báí, the chief wife, and mother of one son, regent She was a clever intelligent woman, and had obtained a reputation during her husband's lifetime for her knowledge of civil and military matters Tárá Báí proceeded to the hills of difficult approach

On receiving this intelligence, the Emperor ordered the drums of rejoicing to be beaten, * * and the soldiers congratulated each other, * * saying that another prime mover in the strife was removed, * * and that it would not be difficult to overcome two young children and a helpless woman. They thought their enemy weak, contemptible and helpless, but Tárá Báí, as the wife of Rám Rája was called, showed great powers of command and government, and from day to day the war spread and the power of the Mahrattas increased

Surrender of Sattára and Capture of Parlí.

[Text, p 470] At the death of Rám Rája, a chief named Parsa Rám was in the fort of Parlí,[1] acting in that country as *díwán* in revenue matters for Rám Rája On hearing of his decease, without consulting with the commandant of the fort, he came and made his submission to Aurangzeb The commandant also, being dismayed, sent a proposal of surrender upon terms At the same time Sobhán, the commander of Sattára, was troubled by the blowing up of the wall on one side of the fortress and the burning of a great number of his men The death of Rám Rája added to his perplexity. He was at feud with the commandant of fort Parlí, and he sent a message to Aurangzeb, through Prince Muhammad A'zam, offering to capitulate on honourable terms, if the proposal of the commandant of Parlí were rejected. He was willing to give up the keys of Sattára at once, and would undertake to place Parlí in Aurangzeb's hands

[1] Six miles south-west of Sattára.

unconditionally in a short time, without any promise of security. On the 16th Zí-l ka'da he surrendered the keys, and more than three thousand persons, male and female, came out of the fort upon promise of safety Great rejoicings followed Sobhán was brought, bound hand and neck, to the foot of the throne, but orders were given for the forgiveness of his offences, and for loosening his bonds He was appointed to a *mansab* of five thousand and two thousand horse, and a horse, an elephant, etc., were presented to him

After the surrender of Sattára, Aurangzeb marched against Parlí, the commandant of that fort having been diverted by his advisors from his intention of surrendering Parlí is a more lofty fort than Sattára, and it had been put into a state of preparation. * * On the 10th Zí-l hijja many men were killed in an attempted assault, but in a short time the garrison was pressed very hard The besiegers were greatly incommoded by the heavy rain, which in this part of the country falls for five months without an hour's interval by night or day, and by lack of supplies, the convoys being cut off by the enemy who swarmed around * * The garrison showed great daring in coming suddenly down the hill and attacking the besiegers, but the repeated attacks and the daring of Fathu-llah Khán at length prevailed, and a proposition of capitulation was made At the beginning of Muharram, after a siege of a month and a half, the fortress was taken, and the men of the garrison marched out with their families and their old clothes * * The name of Sattára was changed to A'zam-tárá, and of Parlí to Nauras-tárá

Aurangzeb then determined to return, but there was little means of carriage, for the rains and the bad climate * * had affected the animals, so that those that were alive were nothing but skin and bone Some of the baggage and *materiel* was carried away, some was left in the forts, and some was burnt * * On reaching the river Kistná, there was great difficulty in crossing it. * * Some men attempted to swim over, but nine out of ten were drowned, * * and thousands remained behind and died

In the middle of Safar the army reached an obscure fort, which offered sufficient protection for a few days, and an order was issued for a month's rest there. The rains, which had continued so far, now ceased, and the men of the army found a little comfort.

Some proceedings of Prince Muhammad A'zam were displeasing to His Majesty, and his division of the army was in a bad state, so that, although he had shown great diligence and enterprise in the reduction of the fort of Parnála and other forts, he was sent, in order to appease the troops, to be Governor of the province of Ujjain In the same way, several officers of the army were sent to their *jágírs* at ten or twelve days' distance, to Bíjápúr, and to other places in the vicinity. Prince Bedár Bakht was directed to lay siege to the fort of Parnála, and Zú-l fikár Khán and Tarbiyat Khán received orders to follow him with the artillery.

As many men had been lost in the reduction of the fortresses, strict orders were sent to the *Súbadárs* of Burhánpúr, Bíjápúr, Haidarábád, Ahmadábád, and other provinces far and near, to raise (each) a thousand men, well horsed, to advance them six months' pay out of the State revenues, and to send them to the royal camp Aurangzeb, with the intention of giving his men rest, went to Khawáspúr,[1] a place well supplied with grass and hay, and fruit-trees and water. At the end of Rabí'u-l awwal the royal camp was pitched at that place, and the abundance of provisions soon restored the spirits of the army. * * But here also the army was to suffer hardship The camp was pitched by the side of a *nála* containing only a little water, and, as the rainy season was over, there was no expectation of a heavy fall of rain. But rain which fell out of season in the hills and distant places sent down a flood of water, which inundated the camp, * * causing confusion and distress which defy description.

The fort of Parnála had been (formerly) taken by Prince

[1] "On the banks of the Mán river"—Grant Duff, vol i. p 395

Muhammad A'zam, and had remained for some time in the royal possession. But in the thirty-fifth year of the reign the enemy regained possession of it. * * On the 10th Shawwál the (royal) army reached Pún-garh, a fort connected with Parnála

FORTY-FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1111 A H (1699-1700 A D)

[*Siege of Parnala.*]

FORTY-FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1112 A H (1700-1 A D)

Sieges of Forts

[Text, vol. ii p 489] The siege (of Parnála) had endured for two months, and repeated attempts had been made to carry the place by escalade * * At length, when the garrison was hard pressed, the commandant surrendered the fort, having secretly received a sum of money from Prince Muhammad Kám Bakhsh and Tarbiyat Khán, with whom he had been in correspondence At the end of Zí-l hijja the keys were given up, and both the forts were evacuated

The army was about to march, when a violent storm came on [*and did great damage*] In the beginning of Muharram, 1113, it was determined to march towards Kahávan, where there was plenty of grass and grain Fathu-llah Khán was sent with a force to chastise the plundering Mahrattas, and to subdue their forts. * * He killed many of the enemy near the four forts in that neighbourhood, * * and, on hearing of his approach, the enemy abandoned the fort of Páras-garh.[1] Bahramand Khán was sent along with Fathu-llah Khán against the fort of Chandan-mandan,[2] * * and by the middle of Jumáda-l awwal all the four forts were subdued

On the 16th Jumáda-l ákhir the royal army moved from Pánch-gánw, to effect the conquest of the fort of Khelna[3] The

[1] Also called Sádik garh —*Index to the Text*
[2] Chandan and Wandan are sister forts a little north of Sattára.
[3] See *suprà*, p 278.

difficulties of the road were great. * * Ambá-ghát,[1] at a distance of two days' march, took twelve days to reach * * Prince Bedár Bakht was ordered to fall back on Baní Sháh Darak (as Parnála was now called), to punish the enemy, who were closing the roads in that direction, * * and to prevent any supplies being thrown into Khelna from that quarter. Muhammad Amín Khán was likewise ordered to the Ambá-ghát, to cut off any supplies intended for the fort, and to succour the convoys of *Banjaras* bearing grain for the royal army He showed no lack of zeal in these duties, and was so active in ravaging and burning the inhabited places, in killing and making prisoners the people, and in seizing and carrying off the cattle, that any sign of cultivation, or the name or trace of a Mahratta, was not to be found. * *

The siege works were pushed on until a mine was carried near to the gate In the raising of the earthworks,[2] camel saddles and baskets innumerable were used, full of earth and rubbish and litter, heads of men and feet of quadrupeds, and these were advanced so far that the garrison were intimidated

FORTY-SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1113 A H (1701–2 A D)

[Text, vol ii p 499] Fathu-llah Khán Bahádur showed extraordinary zeal and bravery in pushing forward the siege works (of Khelna), and never rested from his labours * * Paras Rám, the commandant of the fort, being much discouraged, held communications with Prince Bedár Bakht as to his personal safety, and the acceptance of his proposals But his demands were not acceded to Rúhu-llah Khán, etc, went several times into the fort to arrange terms, but without result At length, according to common rumour, the Prince and some of the *amirs* sent him secretly a sum of money, and a promise of security for himself and family, on condition of his surrendering So, after

[1] In the Gháts just below Lat 17

[2] *damdama*, lit "batteries"

six months' siege, on the 19th Muharram, 1113 (16 June, 1701), the flags of the Prince and of Rúhu-llah Khán were hoisted over the fortress by Paras Rám, the commandant, himself, who had stipulated that no man of the royal army should go in with the flag He solicited a night's grace, and through shame he and his family went out during the darkness of the night, with all the property they could carry. A large number of the garrison remained in the fort, but the Emperor in his mercy ordered that no one of them should be molested, so they came out and departed to their native wilds * * The name of the fort was altered to Sakhkharalaná

The clemency and long suffering and care of the Emperor were such that, when he ascertained that several fortresses had been long and vigorously besieged by the forces appointed to the duty, and that the garrisons were in difficulty, he paid sums of money to the commandants, and so got the forts into his possession It often happened also that he gave the same sum of money, neither more nor less, to the officer conducting the siege The heavy rains, and the overflow of the rivers and streams, had induced Aurangzeb to defer his march until the end of the rainy season But he was moved by the irresolution and the advice of some of his *amirs*, who pined for ease, and complained of the dearness of grain and the insalubrity of the climate, and by the grumbling of the inexperienced and hard-tried soldiers So at the end of Muharram he marched for Bír-gánw.[1] [*Great difficulties, dangers and losses from rains and floods*] In the course of one month and seventeen days the fourteen *kos* between the forts of Khelna and Parnála were traversed, and on the 12th Rabí'u-l awwal the camp was pitched under the latter. [*Further hardships of the march and great difficulty in crossing the Kistná*] Seventeen days were occupied in the transit of the river, * * * but Bahádur-gárh[1] was at length reached, and there the army halted for a month * * At the end of Rajab, though only half a life remained in the bodies of the men, the army marched to

[1] See note, *post*, p 383

effect the conquest of Kandána On the 16th it reached that fortress [*and the siege was at once begun*].

Forty-seventh Year of the Reign, 1114 A.H. (1702-3 A.D.).

The Mahrattas.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 510.] After the siege (of Kandána[1]) had gone on for three months and a half, and many men had been killed, and the directors of the siege were in difficulty, the fort[2] was bought from the commandant for a sum of money The army then marched and remained for a month at Púna, and the neighbouring villages.[3] * * In the middle of Rajab the army marched against Rájgarh, the earliest fortress and retreat of the restless infidels of this country * * At the beginning of Sha'bán the army sat down before the fort The circuit of the fort was so great, twelve *kos* in measurement, that a complete investment sufficient to prevent the throwing in of supplies was impossible * * On the 15th Shawwál the royal flag was planted on the first gate of the fortress, and many of the garrison were slain or put to flight * * But Haináji, the commander, kept up an ineffectual resistance for twelve days longer, when he asked for terms They were conceded on condition that the commander himself should come to the first gate, carry the royal flag into the fortress, and evacuate the place on the next day. * * Next day the garrison marched out with their families, and all the property they could carry * * The fort received the name of Baní-Sháh-garh

When Rám Rája died, leaving only widows and infants, men thought that the power of the Mahrattas over the Dakhin was at an end. But Tárá Bái, the elder wife, made her son of three years old successor to his father, and took the reins of govern-

[1] Now Singarh, eight miles south of Púna

[2] "The name Bakhshinda-bakhsh was given to it" (see *post*, p 382)

[3] Prince Muhiu-l Mulk, son of Prince Kám Bakhsh, died here, so the name of Puna was changed to Muhiábád

ment into her own hands She took vigorous measures for ravaging the Imperial territory, and sent armies to plunder the six *súbas* of the Dakhin as far as Sironj, Mandisor, and the *súba* of Málwá. She won the hearts of her officers, and for all the struggles and schemes, the campaigns and sieges of Aurangzeb up to the end of his reign, the power of the Mahrattas increased day by day By hard fighting, by the expenditure of the vast treasures accumulated by Sháh Jahán, and by the sacrifice of many thousands of men, he had penetrated into their wretched country, had subdued their lofty forts, and had driven them from house and home, still the daring of the Mahrattas increased, and they penetrated into the old territories of the Imperial throne, plundering and destroying wherever they went In imitation of the Emperor, who with his army and enterprising *amirs* was staying in those distant mountains, the commanders of Tárá Báí cast the anchor of permanence wherever they penetrated, and having appointed *kamáish-dars* (revenue collectors), they passed the years and months to their satisfaction, with their wives and children, tents and elephants. Their daring went beyond all bounds They divided all the districts (*parganas*) among themselves, and following the practice of the Imperial rule, they appointed their *súbadárs* (provincial governors), *kamáish-dars* (revenue collectors), and *ráhdárs* (toll-collectors).

Their principal *súbadar* is commander of the army Whenever he hears of a large caravan, he takes six or seven thousand horse and goes to plunder it. He appoints *kamaish-dars* everywhere to collect the *chauth*, and whenever, from the resistance of the *zamindars* and *faujdárs*, the *kamaish-dar* is unable to levy the *chauth*, he hastens to support him, and besieges and destroys his towns And the *ráhdar* of these evil-doers takes from small parties of merchants, who are anxious to obtain security from plunder, a toll upon every cart and bullock, three or four times greater than the amount imposed by the *faujdárs* of the government. This excess he shares with the corrupt *jágirdárs* and *faujdars*, and then leaves the road open In every *súba* (province)

he builds one or two forts, which he makes his strongholds, and ravages the country round The *mukaddams*, or head men of the villages, with the countenance and co-operation of the infidel *súbadárs*, have built forts, and with the aid and assistance of the Mahrattas they make terms with the royal officers as to the payment of their revenues They attack and destroy the country as far as the borders of Ahmadábád and the districts of Málwá, and spread their devastations through the provinces of the Dakhin to the environs of Ujjain. They fall upon and plunder large caravans within ten or twelve *kos* of the Imperial camp, and have even had the hardihood to attack the royal treasure. It would be a troublesome and useless task to commit to writing all their misdeeds, but it must suffice to record some few of the events which occurred in those days of sieges, which, after all, had no effect in suppressing the daring of the Mahrattas

A force of the enemy, numbering fifteen or sixteen thousand horse, proceeded towards the port of Surat, and, after ravaging several districts, they went to cross the Nerbadda, which runs between Ahmadábád and Surat The Imperial officers in charge of Ahmadábád took counsel together, and sent a suitable force against them, under Muhammad Beg Khán, and * * ten or twelve *sardárs*, with thirteen or fourteen thousand horse, and seven or eight thousand trained *kolis* of that country. They crossed the Nerbadda, and encamped upon its bank Next morning the Mahratta army approached within seven or eight *kos* Two or three well-mounted light horsemen appeared on one side, and the Ahmadábád army made ready to receive them. After a conflict, the infidels took flight, and were pursued by the Imperial officers for two or three *kos*, who captured several mares, spears, and umbrellas, and returned rejoicing

The men of the army, delighted at having put the enemy to flight, had ungirded themselves and taken the saddles from their horses. Some went to sleep, and some were engaged in cooking or eating, when a picked force of seven or eight thousand of the enemy's horse came suddenly upon them

like a flood. These men had been concealed among the trees and rocks near the river, and had sent out their spies to watch for an opportunity. The untried men of Ahmadábád lost their wits, and found no means of saddling their horses or girding on their arms They had no experienced officers among them, and when the Dakhinís made their attack, a panic fell upon the army. On one side was the river, which the tide from the sea made unfordable, and on the other the advancing tide of the enemy Many men were killed and wounded, and a great many threw themselves into the water, and were drowned * * The enemy effected a complete overthrow of the Imperial army

Dahiná Jádú, according to the general report of the *sardárs*, was a man of the highest influence He now proposed terms of peace. His proposal was that conciliatory letters should be addressed to all the principal officers of the Rání, inviting them to wait upon Aurangzeb When they had arrived in the vicinity of the royal camp, Rája Sáhú (son of Sambhájí) was to be placed in charge of Prince Muhammad Kám Bakhsh, and to be sent some four or five *kos* from the camp, so that the Mahratta *sardars* might have an interview with him first With the approval of Rája Sáhú, the chiefs were then to pay their respects to Prince Kám Bakhsh, and to return in his custody to the royal camp, where they were to receive the honour of admission into the royal service Orders were accordingly given for the sending nearly seventy letters to various Mahratta chiefs But, after all, the plan did not please Aurangzeb, who prudently felt misgivings as to the craftiness of the Mahrattas, and was apprehensive that if they assembled forty or fifty thousand horse near the royal camp, they might by this pretence carry off Rája Sáhú and Prince Kám Bakhsh to their hills of difficult access

Sultán Husain was summoned to Court; * * but his visit was countermanded, and he was ordered to go and lay siege to the fort of Torna.

FORTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1115 A.H. (1703–4 A.D.).

[Text, vol. ii. p. 521.] After the reduction of the fort of Rájgarh, the royal army rested for a few days, and at the end of Shawwál it moved to the fort of Torna, four *kos* distant from Rájgarh. * * On the 13th Zí-l ka'da this fort was taken by assault, not like the other forts by negociations with the commandants and promises of material advancement. * *

Siege of Wákinkera.

[p 524.] Pem Náik, a *zamíndár* of low origin, belonging to the tribe of *Bedar*, which is the Hindí for "fearless," sprang from the caste of *Dhers*, the most impure caste of the Dakhin He was noted for his turbulent habits. At the time of the war with Haidarábád, he sent his forces to the aid of Abú-l Hasan, and Pádsháh Khánzáda Khán, son of Rúhu-llah Khán, was sent to subdue his fort of Sagar,[1] and to occupy his fastnesses and retreats. He submitted to the royal army, and came to wait on the Emperor, but soon hastened back to his home

Pem Náik had a nephew named Paryá Náik [2] In the thirty-second year of the reign, when Rúhu-llah Khán senior was sent to reduce Ráichor, and when the royal court was at Ahmadábád, before the Bíjápúr affair, this Paryá Náik, having seen the great power of Aurangzeb, came to his Court, and received a *mansab*. Rúhu-llah thought he might be of service at Ráichor, and took him there There the good-for-nothing knave took part in the fighting, and rendered good service After the reduction of Ráichor,[1] he asked leave to go to Wákinkera,[1] his ancestral abode, promising to levy all his powers there, and to present himself with a proper army wherever he was summoned.

Upon receiving permission, he went to Wákinkera, which is

[1] Ráichor lies between the Kistná and Tumbhadra. Sagar and Wákinkera are north-west of Ráichor between the Kistná and the Bhíma, Sagar being fifteen miles north-east of Wákinkera

[2] The *Ma-ásir-i 'Álamgírí* gives as the names Pám Náik and Pidiyá Náik

a village on the top of a hill, and one of the dependencies of Sagar The place is inhabited by many *Barkandazes*, which name signifies "black-faced infantry,"[1] and these people are famed for their skill in archery and missiles After Sagar had been taken from the hands of Pem Náík, the worthless Paryá Náík, by craft and wiles, made it the abode of his family and children Having taken up his residence at Wákinkera, he showed no signs of moving, but set about strengthening and adding to the defences, and laying in warlike stores Favoured by fortune, he in time collected nearly fourteen or fifteen thousand infantry of vigour and audacity He made his hill a strong fortress, and, collecting in a short time four or five thousand horse, he ravaged flourishing places far and near, and plundered caravans Whenever an army was sent against him, the strong force which he had collected around him, the strength of his retreat, the influence of money spent in bribery, a practice which he well understood, his knowledge of *darbar* proceedings, and his own audacity, carried him through, and bags of money and a variety of presents covered all discrepancies in his statements In his letters he made all sorts of artful excuses, and represented himself as one of the most obedient of *zamindars* and punctual of revenue payers Every month and year he exerted himself in increasing his buildings, strengthening his towers and walls, in gathering forces, and acquiring guns, great and small. At last his place became well known as the fort of Wákinkera, and he became a fast ally of the Mahrattas, the disturbers of the Dakhin

Jagná, son of Pem Náík, who was the heir to his property,[2] came to Court, was honoured with a *mansab*, and received a *sanad* for the *zamindari* as its rightful heir. He went thither

[1] برقندار بسارک مراد ارکالي پيادهاي سياه رو باشند All the copies agree in this reading The *Ma-asir-i 'A'lamgiri* calls them "*Kálah pyádá bandúkchi*" (p 376), and they occur frequently

[2] "Paryá Náík expelled Jikiyá, son of Pem Náík, from the lands he had inherited."—*Ma-asir-i 'A'lamgiri*, vol ii p 492

with an army, but could not get in, and after some fighting he suffered a defeat Prince Muhammad A'zam was afterwards sent to punish Paryá Náík, and the royal forces ravaged the outskirts of his territory But he seized his opportunity, and went to wait upon the Prince He expressed his humility and repentance, and with subtle artifice promised a tribute of seven *lacs* of rupees to the Emperor, and to make a present of two *lacs* to the Prince Besides these, he dispensed gratifications to the officials By these means he rescued himself from the clutches of the royal anger

As soon as the Prince had returned to Court, he went on in his old way, and fanned the fires of rebellion more violently than before. Fíroz Jang was afterwards sent with a large army to repress him, and pressed him very hard But he resumed his old artifices, sent deceptive and alluring messages, and by a promise of obedience and nine *lacs* of rupees as tribute, he saved his life and honour When the royal army marched against Púna, and lay encamped for seven months and a half near Junír, two or three unimportant forts were taken Every day fresh news was brought of the insolence and turbulence of Paryá Náík, and in consequence Aurangzeb resolved to march in person against Wákinkera

Forty-ninth Year of the Reign, 1116 A H. (1704-5 A.D).

Siege of Wákinkera.

[Text, vol ii. p. 527] At the beginning of the forty-ninth year of the reign, Aurangzeb moved with his army towards Wákinkera * * At the end of Shawwál he reached the vicinity of the fort. His tent was pitched about a *kos* from the fort, and his officers were ordered to commence operations. Paryá Náík had strengthened his defences and called in his scattered forces. He applied to Tárá Báí for assistance, and had collected several thousand horsemen of all classes, especially Musulmáns of bad character. The "black-faced infantry" with rage and clamour,

and the artillery with a shower of fire, boldly resisted the advance of the Imperial forces. Cannon-balls from large and small guns were accompanied by thousands of blazing rockets, which rained night and day, and allowed not a moment's rest. A fierce struggle was commenced, and large numbers were killed on both sides * *

The reduction of the fort was nearly accomplished, and the valour of the brave besiegers was about to reap its reward. The approaching fall of the fort was on every one's tongue, when intelligence came in that a large army of Mahrattas was approaching to succour the place Next day Dahiná Jádú and Hindú Ráo, with two or three *sardars*, whose wives and families were in Wákinkera, approached with eight or nine thousand horse and an innumerable force of infantry. Dahiná Jádú had been occupied for a short time in ravaging the country and opposing the royal forces. His present object was to get his wives and children and property out of Wákinkera, which he had deemed the safest of all the forts, and at the same time to render assistance to the garrison On one side his strong force pressed severely on the royal army.

At this juncture, when misfortunes poured like hail upon the besiegers, one body drew the royal generals into a conflict on one side, while on another two or three thousand horse dashed up to the fort, mounted the women on swift mares, and with the aid of the infantry in the fort they succeeded in carrying them off * * Paryá Náík sent money and goods, food and drink, to the Mahrattas, and settled allowances to their *sardars*, to induce them to remain and protract the siege The Mahrattas were quite willing to get money easily, so they remained and harassed the besiegers by daily attacks on both sides Every day their forces increased Many men of the royal army were killed, and a great panic spread amongst them [*Private negociations*]

Súm Sankar, brother of Paryá Náík, came out of the fort (as a hostage), presented his offering, and paid homage. He received the honour of a robe, horse, jewels, and a *mansab*, and

then asked humbly forgiveness for his brother, and for a truce of a week. Muhtasham Khán then entered the fortress (to take formal possession as *kila'dár*). He was entertained that night, and messages were sent to him assuring him that Paryá Náik would see him next day, and then under his protection would proceed to pay homage When he went into the fort, the drums of the royal army were beaten joyfully. * * The people in the fort, in order to satisfy the *kila'dár*, busied themselves in sending out their useless goods, their women and the old men whose lives were precarious The statement was still maintained that Paryá Náik intended to visit the *kila'dár*, but towards night the excuse was made that he was ill with fever. On the third it was stated that the fever had increased, and that he was delirious and talking wildly Next day it was said that he was quite insane, and that he had gone out of the fort, and no one knew whether he had cast himself down from the fort to kill himself, or whether he had gone to join the Mahratta army

The mother of that crafty one artfully made great cries and lamentations, and pretended to be in great distress She sent a message to Aurangzeb, saying that when she was a little consoled for the disappearance of her son, she would leave the fort, but she hoped that her younger son, Súm Sankar, would receive investiture as the new *zamindar*, and that he would be sent into the fort to Muhtasham Khán, because he would be able to show the *kila'dár* the various places in which the treasure was buried. She would then leave the fort with her remaining property and children Aurangzeb, not suspecting deception, allowed Súm Sankar to go into the fort * * Then no one from the royal army was allowed to enter. Muhtasham Khán with some other persons were kept under restraint in the fort, and it became clear to the Emperor and his associates that they had been made the victims of deception; but the Emperor was patient, and acted cautiously, as the circumstances of the case required.

Intelligence was now brought that Zú-l fikár Khán Nusrat Jang and others were approaching with the force under his com-

mand, and the Emperor issued an order directing him to join as soon as possible. * * Zú-l fikár Khán seized several wells from which the enemy drew their supplies of water, and the enemy now felt the deprivation which the Imperial forces had suffered * * The approaches were pushed forward to the fort, and on the day appointed for the assault the Emperor mounted his horse to take part therein, * * and took his position at a cannon-shot distance from the fort. * * The enemy were overpowered, and some positions were captured * * Being greatly dispirited, they placed two or three thousand musketeers to hold one of the gates to the last They then took their wives and children, their jewels, and whatever they could carry, and after setting fire to their temple and other buildings, they went out at another gate, and by some outlets which had been prepared for such an occasion, they made their way to the Mahratta army in parties They then fled with the army The conflagration in the fort and the cessation of the firing made the besiegers aware of their flight A party of men entered, and found only disabled and wounded persons who were unable to fly On the 14th Muharram the Imperial forces took possession of the place * * The name Wákinkera was changed to Rahmán-bakhsh. The Imperial army then retired to pass the rainy season at Deo-gánw, three or four *kos* from the Kistná * * News arrived that the fort of Bakhshinda-bakhsh or Kandána had been lost through the carelessness of the commander and the strategy of the Mahrattas On the same day Hámidu-d dín Khán was sent to retake it.

Illness of the Emperor.

The Emperor was seized with illness, and had severe pains in his limbs, which caused grave apprehension But he exerted himself, took his seat in the public hall, and engaged in business, thus giving consolation to the people. But his illness increased, he had fainting fits and lost his senses, so that very alarming rumours spread abroad, and for ten or twelve days the army and camp were in great distress. But by the mercy of God he grew

better, and occasionally showed himself to the people in the public hall The army was in an enemy's country, without house or home, and if the sad calamity (of the Emperor's death) were to happen, not one soul would escape from that land of mountains and raging infidels. Under the advice of his physician, he took China root[1] Three or four times a week he took medicine, and every day he distributed charity After his recovery, he richly rewarded his physician, and returned thanks to God. In the middle of Rajab, he commenced his march for Bahádur-garh, otherwise called Bír-gánw,[2] leaving Kalích Khán behind as *Súbadár* Slowly, and with difficulty, he pursued his march, and reached Bír-gánw at the end of Sha'bán, and ordered a halt of forty days for giving rest to the army during the time of the fast

FIFTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1117 A.H. (1705-6 A D).

Illness of the Emperor.

[Text, vol ii p 540] After the conclusion of the fast of Ramazán, the Emperor again turned his attention to business He then proceeded to Ahmadnagar In the month of Zí-l hijja the intelligence was brought of Zú-l fikar Khán having reduced the fort of Bakhshinda-bakhsh (Kandána) Prince Muhammad A'zam Sháh was in the province of Ahmadábád When he heard of his father's illness, he wrote for leave to visit his father, stating as an excuse that the climate of Ahmadábád was very unfavourable to him This displeased the Emperor, who replied that he had written a letter of exactly the same effect to his father Sháh Jahán when he was ill, and that he was told in answer, that every air (*hawá*) was suitable to a man except the fumes (*hawá*) of ambition But the Prince wrote repeatedly to

[1] *Chob-i Chíni*, "Smilax China"

[2] Bír-gánw and Bahádur-garh have not been found in the maps A passage (Text, vol ii p 452) states that a woman was carried by a flood "from Bahádur-garh to Islámpúrí (on the Bhíma) in five or six watches," and another passage (p 508) says Bahádur-garh was nine *kos* from the Kistná, so perhaps the place was on the Mán river, although that is more than nine *kos* from the Kistná. The route of Aurangzeb from Khelna to Bahádur garh (*Ma-ásir*, p 464) was Malkapúr, Parnála, Bar-gánw (War-gánw), the Kistná, As'ad-nagar, Bahádur-garh, so he must have crossed the river near Mirich.

the same effect, and was then appointed to the *súba* of Málwá He did not, however, go to Ujjain, but wrote for leave to visit his father. A grudging permission was given, and the Prince made the best of his way, so that he arrived at the end of the month. The *súba* of Ahmadábád, which was taken from him, was given to Muhammad Ibráhím Khán. * *

When Prince Muhammad A'zam Sháh reached his father's Court, his confidence in his own courage and boldness, and his pride in the army and treasure he had got together at Ahmadábád, made him aspire to the royal state and treasure. He thought nothing about his elder brother, but considered himself the chief in every way Prince Muhammad Kám Bakhsh he looked upon as removed from rivalry by incompetence But he had observed the altered temper of his father, whose feelings were not always in their natural state His first thoughts fell upon Prince Muhammad 'Azím,[1] who was at 'Azímábád, or Patna, in Bihár, where he had been some time *Subadár*, and had obtained a repute for amassing treasures. Therefore he wished to remove him by getting him recalled to Court, and by various representations, some false, some true, he so worked upon the mind of the Emperor that orders were issued for his recall, * * and the Prince proceeded to wait upon his grandfather

Confirmation was received, through the Governor of Multán, of the death of Prince Muhammad Akbar in Garmsír, the report of which had been current for a year past

FIFTY-FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1118 A.H. (1706-7 A.D)

Death of the Emperor.

[Text, vol ii p 547.] Prince A'zam Sháh was proud of his own courage, and of his army and soldiers. He had, moreover, won over to his side Jamdatu-l Mulk Asad Khán and several other *amírs*. He now sought a pretext for a quarrel with Prince Kám Bakhsh The Emperor slightly improved in health, but although for some days he went into the public hall of

[1] Or 'Azímu-sh Shán, son of Mu'azzam.

audience and the Court of Justice, he was very weak, and death was clearly stamped upon his face. Prince A'zam's feelings towards Prince Kám Bakhsh, who was a poet and learned man, now displayed themselves in various slights and improper actions whenever an opportunity offered. Kám Bakhsh was dear to his father, for it often happens that men have the greatest affection for their youngest sons So the Emperor appointed a nobleman to act as the *bakhshi* of Kám Bakhsh, and to him he entrusted the Prince, with instructions to take care of him. This *bakhshi* was Sultán Hasan, otherwise called Mír Malang He was a courageous and faithful servant, and upon his appointment, the Emperor gave him the title of Hasan Khán In faithful discharge of his duty, Hasan Khán deemed it necessary to place his ward under the protection of special guards, in addition to his own servants, and these accompanied the Prince armed and accoutred whenever he went to Court. For some days and nights they watched over the Prince with great vigilance. Prince A'zam Sháh complained of this to the Emperor, but got no answer. He then wrote to Nawáb Zínatu-n Nissa Begam, his eldest sister, complaining of the insolence of Hasan Khán, who had exceeded his powers. He added that there would be no difficulty in chastising him, but that it had been forbidden by the Emperor. This letter was shown to the Emperor, who wrote a letter with his own hand, saying that he had heard of the suspicions and apprehensions shown by Hasan Khán, and would therefore send Kám Bakhsh to some other place Prince A'zam winced under the censure implied in the letter, but he knew that submission was his only resource, and he felt great satisfaction at the removal of his younger brother.

The foresight of the Emperor told him that his health was failing, and he saw that Prince (A'zam's) pretensions increased daily. He knew that if two unchained lions were left together, after his decease there would be divisions in the army, and great disturbances among the people His affection for Kám Bakhsh also worked upon him. He sent Kám Bakhsh with all the signs

and honours of royalty to Bíjápúr, and the drums of the royal *naubat-khána* were ordered to play as he departed The sight of all this made Prince A'zam writhe like a poisonous serpent, but he could not say a word In two or three days he also received orders to proceed to Málwá in charge of strict officers

After the departure of the two Princes, the Emperor grew much worse, and fever increased But for the next four or five days, notwithstanding the severity of the disease, he attended carefully to the regular prayers In this state of things Hámidu-d dín Khán presented a letter containing the advice of astrologers, recommending the giving away of an elephant and of a valuable diamond in charity To that the Emperor wrote in reply that the giving away of an elephant was the practice of the Hindús and of star-worshippers, but he sent four thousand rupees to the chief *kázi*, for him to distribute among the deserving On the same letter he wrote, saying, "Carry this creature of dust quickly to the first (burial) place, and consign him to the earth without any useless coffin." It is said that he wrote a will dividing his kingdom among his sons, and entrusted it to Hámidu-d dín Khán.

On Friday, the 28th Zí-l ka'da, in the fifty-first year of the reign, corresponding with 1118 A H. (Feb 21, 1707 A D.), after performing morning prayers and repeating the creed, at about one watch of the day, the Emperor departed this life He was ninety years and some months old, and had reigned fifty years two months and a half He was buried near Daulatábád by the tombs of Shaikh Burhánu-d dín and other religious worthies, and of Sháh Zarí Zar-bakhsh, and some districts of Burhánpúr were assigned for the maintenance of his tomb.

Of all the sovereigns of the House of Tímúr—nay, of all the sovereigns of Dehlí—no one, since Sikandar Lodí, has ever been apparently so distinguished for devotion, austerity, and justice. In courage, long-suffering, and sound judgment, he was unrivalled But from reverence for the injunctions of the Law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the

administration of a country cannot be maintained Dissensions had arisen among his nobles through rivalry So every plan and project that he formed came to little good, and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution, and failed of its object. Although he lived for ninety years, his five senses were not at all impaired, except his hearing, and that to only so slight an extent that it was not perceptible to others. He often passed his nights in vigils and devotion, and he denied himself many pleasures naturally belonging to humanity.

Accession of Sháh 'Álam Badshah (Bahadur Shah), Twelfth in Descent from Amír Timur

Prince Muhammad A'zam Sháh claims the Crown.

[Text, vol. ii. p 566] Prince Muhammad A'zam Sháh, having taken leave of his father, was proceeding to his governorship of Málwá. He had travelled about twenty *kos* from the army, when one evening the intelligence of the Emperor's death reached him On the same day he left his baggage and equipments, and with some of the chief nobles and an escort, he set off with all speed for the army On arriving there, he entered the great tent. All the nobles came forth to meet him, and to console and sympathize with him, except Asad Khán and Hámid Khán, who were attending to the business of mourning and watching inside. After the burial was over, Jamdatu-l Mulk Asad Khán and other nobles and officers offered their condolences. An inspection was made of the amount of treasure, jewels, artillery, and effects What was capable of being removed was separated and placed under the charge of vigilant officers, to provide the means of carriage and the supplies necessary for a journey. Hindí and Persian astrologers fixed on the 10th Zí-l hijja[1] as the day for ascending the throne

Prince Bedár Bakht, who had been left at Ahmadábád in

[1] 1118 Hijra, 5th March, 1707

charge of his government, arrived. Ibráhím Khán *Súbadar* also thought of coming, but an order was issued for his going to the frontier of Málwá, there to await further orders. He was directed not to be precipitate, but to await the arrival of the new monarch. The author of this work was at that time in the company of Muhammad Murád Khán, who was *Wáki'-nigar* and *Sawánih-nigár* of all the province of Ahmadábád, and was *faujdar* of the *sarkar* of Thánesár and Kúdra On the 9th Zí-l hijja Murád Khán received a robe, on taking leave of Prince Bedár Bakht, and went home Just then some servants of Ibráhím Khán *Nazim* came to summon him. When he waited on Ibráhím Khán, and the latter became aware of his having received a robe from Bedár Bakht, he asked if the Prince had received any intelligence from his father, and in what condition the Prince was Murád Khán replied that he did not know of any fresh news, and the Prince's health appeared to be as usual. Ibráhím Khán then placed in the hands of Murád Khán a letter, which he had received at Ahmadábád on the 10th from his *vakil* at Ahmadnagar, informing him of the sad event which had occurred, and said, "You must this very moment go to the Prince with the letter and offer our condolence"

Murád Khán went home, changed his robe, and went to wait upon the Prince He found that the Prince was asleep; but considering the pressing nature of his mission, he told the eunuch on duty that he must awake the Prince as cautiously as he could As soon as the Prince was aroused, he was told that Murád Khán was anxious to see him, and had caused him to be awoke The Prince had received information of the Emperor's illness, and he asked if Murád Khán still wore the robe which had been presented to him, and the eunuch replied that he was dressed in a fresh robe of white The Prince's eyes filled with tears, and he sent for Murád Khán into a private room. The Khán placed in his hand the letter which had arrived, and offered his own and Ibráhím Khán's condolences After that the Prince said to Murád Khán, "You know full well that the realm of Hindústán

will now fall into anarchy. People did not know the value of the Emperor. I only hope that Heaven will direct matters as I wish, and that the Empire will be given to my father"

Ibráhím Khán afterwards was in doubt as to what Prince's name was to be recited in the *khutba* on the day of the *'I'du-z zuha*, and it was decided that after the rising of the sun, and before the news of Aurangzeb's death was spread abroad, the *khutba* should be read in Aurangzeb's name in the *'I'dgáh* Ibráhím Khán ranged himself among the partisans of A'zam Sháh, and he resolved that if, as he expected, instructions should come for him to accompany Prince Bedár Bakht, he would assemble his forces and would hasten with the Prince to Ágra In fact, if Muhammad A'zam Sháh had not been mistrustful[1] and forbidden it, he (Ibráhím Khán) would have helped Prince Bedár Bakht on his way[2] Mukhtár Khán, father-in-law of Bedár Bakht, was *Súbadar* of Ágra He had nine *krors* of rupees, besides *ashrafis* and presentation money (*rúpiya-i gharíb nawáz*), amounting to as much as five hundred *tolas* in weight, and he had uncoined gold and silver in the shape of vessels. Báki Khán, the commander of the fortress, who had the treasure in his charge, designed to surrender the treasure and the keys of the fortress to whichever of the heirs of the kingdom should present himself. (Ibráhím Khán's plan) was the right and advisable course to pursue, but what God had ordained came to pass

Prince Kám Bakhsh.

[Text, vol ii. p 569] A few words now about Prince Kám Bakhsh. After leaving his venerable father, he went to the fort of Parenda, forty or fifty *kos* distant There he received the sad

[1] "The insinuations of envious people had turned the mind of A'zam Sháh against Bedár Bakht, and a *farmán* was sent desiring him to go from Ahmadábád to Málwá, and to wait at Ujjain for further instructions The same ill-feeling also prompted the refusal of permission for him to go to Ágra"—*Tazkira-i Chaghatái*

[2] This is a somewhat doubtful sentence

news of his father's decease Muhammad Amín Khán, with a number of persons, went off to wait upon A'zam Sháh, without the leave or knowledge of Kám Bakhsh. Great division and contention arose in his army in consequence of this defection. Ahsan Khán, otherwise called Mír Sultán Hasan, supported by the sympathy and good feeling of many who remained, exerted himself and set off with the intention of taking possession of the fort of Bíjápúr On arriving near the place, he sent a kind and flattering message to Niyáz Khán, the commandant, to induce him to deliver up the fortress Niyáz Khán refused, and set about putting the fortifications in order Intrenchments were then thrown up opposite the gate. Rumours of the death of Aurangzeb had been floating in the air before the arrival of Kám Bakhsh, and were now confirmed Negociations were opened, and through the exertions and skilful management of Ahsan Khán, the keys of the fortress were given up by Saiyid Niyáz Khán, who waited on the Prince and made submission At the end of two months the city and environs were brought into a state of order Ahsan Khán was made *bakhshí*, and the portfolio of *wazír* was given to Hakím Muhsin, with the title Takarrub Khán. * * Other adherents were rewarded with jewels and titles The Prince then assumed the throne He was mentioned in the *khutba* under the title of *Dín-panáh* (Asylum of the Faith), and coins also were issued with this title.

Prince Kám Bakhsh then assembled some seven or eight thousand horse, and marched to subdue the fort of Wákinkera. After a march or two, Saiyid Niyáz Khán left his tent standing, and fled in the night to Muhammad A'zam Khán On reaching Kulbarga, the Prince took possession of the fort, and, on the recommendation of Ahsan Khán, placed it under the command of Saiyid Ja'far, one of the Saiyids of Bárha He then marched on to Wákinkera, which, since the death of Aurangzeb, had again fallen into the hands of Paryá Náik. On arriving there, lines were formed, and the siege commenced under the direction of Ahsan Khán. Paryá Náik defended the place for fifteen or twenty

days, when it surrendered, through the mediation of Ahsan Khán. An officer was placed in command, and the army marched on to further conquests. There was a great rivalry between Takarrub Khán and Ahsan Khán The former removed Saiyid Ja'far from the command of Kulbarga, and appointed another person to the charge When Kám Bakhsh returned to Kulbarga, he restored Saiyid Ja'far * * After pacifying Ahsan Khán, the Prince sent him to lay siege to Karnúl, and directed his youngest son to accompany him as a check (*tora*). The commandant was unwilling to surrender, and, after some negociations and siege work, he presented three *lacs* of rupees to Ahsan Khán for the use of the government, and so induced him to move away. * *

Prince A'zam Sháh.

[vol ii p 571] On the 10th Zí-l hijja A'zam Sháh, having ascended the throne, made his accession public in the Dakhin by coins struck in the name of A'zam Sháh Having gratified the old nobles of the State with robes and jewels, augmentations of *mansabs* and promises, he set off, about the middle of Zi-l hijja, to encounter Sháh 'Álam, accompanied by *Jamdatu-l Mulk Amíru-l umará* Asad Khán, Zú-l fikár Khán Bahádur *Nusrat Jang* and [*many other nobles*] He marched to *Khujista-bunyad* (Aurangábád), * * and from thence arrived at Burhánpúr After leaving that place, he was abandoned by Muhammad Amín Khán, and Chín Kalích Khán, who had received the title of *Khan-daurán* They were offended by the treatment they received from A'zam Sháh, and went off to Aurangábád, where they took possession of several districts

Sháh 'Álam (Bahádur Sháh).

[vol ii p 573.] An account must now be given of the proceedings of Sháh 'Álam Bahádur Sháh. The late Emperor had appointed Mun'im Khán, a very able man of business, to

the management of Kábul. He had shown great devotion and fidelity to Sháh 'Álam, so that the Prince placed in his hands the management of his *jágírs* in the province of Láhore, and had recommended him for the *ducáni* of the province to the Emperor, who appointed him to that office When Mun'im Khán received intelligence of the continued illness of the Emperor, in his faithfulness to Sháh 'Álam, he busied himself in making preparations in the countries lying between Láhore and Pesháwar, finding means of transport, collecting camels and bullocks, and providing things necessary for carrying on a campaign, so as to be ready at the time of need

On the 7th Zí-l hijja the news of Aurangzeb's death reached Pesháwar, and the Prince immediately prepared to set out Next day a letter came from Mun'im Khán, offering congratulations upon the Prince's accession to royalty, and urging him to come quickly Orders were given for the march, and next day the Prince started, making no delay, accompanied by his nobles, except Fathu-llah Khán, a man of great bravery lately appointed to Kábul, who declined to accompany him Orders were given that Ján-nisár Khán, who was only second in courage to Fathu-llah Khán, should go with five or six thousand horse to the neighbourhood of Ágra, to join Prince 'Azímu-sh Shán Orders also were sent calling Prince Mu'izzu-d dín from his government of Thatta, and A'azzu-d dín from Multán, where he was acting as the deputy of his father. Other presumed adherents were also sent for

Sháh 'Álam proceeded by regular marches to Láhore. Mun'im Khán came forth to meet him, paid his homage, offered forty *lacs* of rupees, and presented the soldiers, artillery and equipments that he had busied himself in collecting directly he had heard of the death of Aurangzeb Sháh 'Álam appointed him *wazir* At the end of Muharram, 1119 (April, 1707), the Prince encamped at Láhore There he remained over the new moon of Safar, and gave orders for the coining of money and reading the *khutba* in his name. The nobles in his retinue presented their

offerings and paid their homage. * * Directions were given that the new rupee should be increased half a *máshá* in weight, and *lacs* were accordingly coined of that weight; but as in the payment of *tankhwáh*, and in commercial transactions, it was received at only the old rate, the new rule was discontinued.

Prince Muhammad Mu'izzu-d dín and his son A'azzu-d dín now arrived [*Great distribution of honours and mansabs.*] A letter was received from Prince Muhammad 'Azím, stating that * * he had raised more than twenty thousand horse, and was hastening to reach Ágra before Prince Bedár Bakht. News also arrived that Ágra had been secured, that Mukhtár Khán had been placed in confinement, and that Bákí Khán, the commandant of the fort, put off surrendering the treasure with the excuse that he would wait till His Majesty arrived. Spies and news-writers reported that Bákí Khán had written with great humility to Prince Muhammad A'zam, that although the fort and the treasures belonged to both the heirs to the crown, he would surrender them to whichever arrived first. There was not a single person who doubted that, comparing the distance of Peshâwar with the difficulties in the way of A'zam Sháh, Sháh 'Álam would arrive before him

On Sháh 'Álam arriving at Dehlí, * * the commandant sent the keys of the fortress with his offering, and many others made their allegiance At the beginning of Rabí'u-l awwal he started for Ágra, and reached the environs of that city about the middle of the month, where he was met by his son, Muhammad 'Azím, and by Muhammad Karím, the son of Prince 'Azím Bákí Khán gave up the keys of the fortress, with the treasure, for which he received great favour and rewards. According to one account, there were nine *krors* of rupees, in rupees and *ashrafís*, besides vessels of gold and silver, which was what was left remaining of the twenty-four *krors* of rupees amassed by Sháh Jahán, after what had been expended by Aurangzeb during his reign, principally in his wars in the Dakhin According to another account, including the presentation money, which con-

sisted of *ashrafis* and rupees of 100 to 300 *tolas'* weight, specially coined for presents,[1] and the *ashrafis* of twelve *máshás* and thirteen *máshás* of the reign of Akbar, the whole amounted to thirteen *krors*. An order was given for bringing out directly four *krors* of rupees Three *lacs* were to be given to each of the royal Princes, altogether nine *lacs*, three *lacs* to Khán-zamán and his sons, one *lac* to the Saiyids of Bárha, one *lac* to A'ghar Khán and his Mughals In the same way the officers in his retinue, and the old servants, soldiers, [*and others, received gratuitous additions of pay and donations*]. Altogether two *krors* were distributed * *

March of Prince A'zam.

[vol ii p. 581] Prince A'zam Sháh, with his artillery, and a a force of nearly thirty-five thousand horse actually present (*maujúdi*), which according to military reckoning means an army of more than eighty or ninety thousand men, and with his *amirs* and adherents, marched forth for war * * He endeavoured, by augmentations of *mansabs* and promotions in rank, to secure the good will of the nobles, but in providing for advances and pay to the army, and in giving assistance and presents of money, he, through want of treasure, was very sparing If any of his most attached nobles spoke to him on this subject, he, in his proud and haughty way, gave sharp answers that there was no real necessity in his army, but fear of the opposite party[2] In fact, he had not money to be liberal with, but his bitter words, and the ill temper which he occasionally showed, pained and disgusted many of his followers After he departed from Burhánpúr, Chín Kalích Khán, who had been created *Khan-daurán*, went off with several noted men and returned to Aurangábád. Muhammad Amín also, with many Mughals, plundered the *banjáras* of the army, and fell back to Aurangábád. When the Prince was told

[1] See Thomas's "Chronicles of the Pathán Kings," p 423

[2] *The Tazkira-i Chaghatái* adds that the army suffered greatly on the march from the heat of the weather and want of water

of such matters, he paid no attention to them, and made no change in his conduct After crossing the river (Nerbadda) at Hándiyá, he arrived at Doráha.

Release of Sáhú.

[vol ii. p 582.] Zú-l fikár Khán *Nusrat Jang* was very intimate with Sáhú, grandson of Sivají, and had long been interested in his affairs He now persuaded A'zam Sháh to set this Sáhú at liberty, along with several persons who were his friends and companions Sáhú, with fifty or sixty men, who were able to accompany him, went off to Mohan Singh, a noted rebellious *zamíndár*, in the difficult mountain country of Bíjagarh, Sultánpúr, and Nandurbár He supplied Sáhú with some necessary equipments, and Sáhú then went on to a Mahratta named A'mbú, but more famous under the name of Pánd, who was an active rebel This man held the fort of Kokarmanda[1] in Sultánpúr, and ravaged the whole country from Surat to Burhánpúr He furnished Sáhú with a body of men, and sent him to his native country and to the lofty fortresses, of which several that had been reduced by Aurangzeb had again fallen into the hands of the rebels during the days of contention for the Empire Many Mahratta *sardars*, who through necessity had deceitfully joined themselves to the party of Rání Tárá Báí, widow of Rám Rája, now came and joined Rája Sáhú

Having collected a large army, Sáhú proceeded to the neighbourhood of Ahmadnagar, and then, according to a report at the time, he put off his journey, and went to the place where Aurangzeb died. He paid a mourning visit to the place, and distributed money and food to the poor Then, with his large army, which numbered nearly 20,000 Mahratta horse, he marched with the intention of showing his respect to the tomb of Aurangzeb, near Daulatábád, at a place now called Khuldábád.[2] When

[1] On the north bank of the Táptí

[2] Aurangzeb had treated Sáhú, his boy prisoner, with great familiarity and kindness It was he who gave the child the name of Sáhú, which he afterwards preferred and retained Aurangzeb was called "Khuld-makán," hence the name Khuldábád

his advance party approached Aurangábád, although Sáhú and his brothers in his company had no intention of ravaging, the old habit prevailed, and some of his men began plundering in the vicinity of Aurangábád Mansúr Khán and the other officers in the city bestirred themselves, put the fortifications in order, and endeavoured to repress these outrages Rája Sáhú also forbade his men to plunder, and after visiting the tombs of the great men, and of Aurangzeb, he went his way to his forts

Defeat and Death of A'zam Sháh.

[vol ii p 583.] A'zam Sháh passed the Nerbadda, and arrived at Gwálior There he heard of the arrival at Ágra of Sháh 'Álam, and of Prince 'Azím, with his powerful army. * * He left *Amíru-l umara* Asad Khán at Gwálior with the ladies and unnecessary equipments and jewels and treasure, * * and having distributed a little money among the soldiers, he sent Prince Bedár Bakht forward in command of the advanced guard, and he sent with him Zu-l fikár Khán and [*many others*], * * and the march to Ágra began, his force amounting to nearly twenty-five thousand horse It is said that although he had collected an army of nearly fifty thousand horse, want of money had stinted the pay of the men; and they having heard of the profuse liberality of the opposing party, many men of name and reputation parted from him and went over to Prince Muhammad 'Azím and Sháh' Álam

It is related that when intelligence of Prince A'zam's arrival at Gwálior reached Sháh 'Álam, he wrote him a letter of expostulation, rehearsing the particulars of the will written by their father with his own hand respecting the division of the kingdom, and said, "Of all the six *súbas* of the Dakhin, I will surrender to you four *súbas*, as well as the *súba* of Ahmadábád, and besides these I will present you with one or two other *súbas*, for I do not wish that the blood of Musulmáns should be shed. * * You ought therefore to be content with the will of your father, accept

what is offered, and endeavour to prevent strife"[1] It is also said that he sent a message to the following effect. "If you will not desist from unjustly making a greater demand, and will not abide by the will of our father, but desire that the sword should be drawn, and that the matter should be submitted to the arbitrament of courage and valour, what is the necessity that we should doom a multitude to the edge of the sword in our quarrel? It is better that you and I should stake our single lives and contend with each other on the field of combat." * * * When this letter and message of the elder brother reached the younger, the latter said, "I suppose the stupid fellow has never read the lines of Sa'dí, which say that 'Two kings cannot be contained in one country, though ten *darweshes* can sleep under one blanket'"[2]

The spies of Sháh 'Álam Bahádur Sháh brought intelligence that the advanced guard of A'zam Sháh had marched with the intention of taking possession of the river Chambal, which is eighteen *kos* from Ágra. So he gave directions that Khána-zád Khán, Saf-shikan Khán the commander of the artillery, with an advanced guard, should go and take possession of the passage, and not allow the enemy to cross. It was next reported to be A'zam Sháh's intention to cross the river at Samú-garh, and leaving Ágra in his rear, to turn and give battle Orders were then given for moving Sháh 'Álam's tents to Jájú Sarái.[3] [*Disposition made for action*]

A'zam Sháh also prepared for battle, and, without heeding the superior force of his brother, or settling any plan of action, went boldly forward like a fierce lion dashes upon a flock of sheep. * * His leading forces made a sudden attack upon the most advanced camp of Sháh 'Álam. The officers and men in charge resisted for a time, and killed some of the assailants,

[1] Irádat Khán says that Bahádur Sháh proposed an equal division of the Empire —Scott's *History of the Deccan*, vol. ii p 19

[2] The Prince has reversed the order of the clauses of this proverb from the *Gulistán*

[3] About half way on the road from Ágra to Dholpúr

but were put to flight. All their baggage was plundered, their camp was set on fire, and the commander of the artillery was made prisoner, and carried before Prince A'zam Sháh. The Prince asked him who he was. He said, "I was commander of the artillery, I am a Saiyid" The Prince ordered his release. Prince Muhammad 'Azím, who had ridden forward rashly to explore, got intelligence of what was passing, and with a strong force hastened into action, and fell upon the advanced forces of A'zam Sháh.

The check which had been received caused great discouragement to the forces of Sháh 'Álam. Zú-l fikár Khán and other nobles in attendance upon A'zam Sháh advised him that he should proclaim the success he had achieved, order his camp to be pitched upon the spot, and to put off the general action to the morrow, because the victory that had been gained and the superior prowess of his men would strike terror into the enemy's army, and bring over many of the leading men from his opponent's ranks Many also of the half-hearted would certainly desert, and the probability was that Sháh 'Álam would be so much discouraged that he would retreat A'zam Sháh got angry, and said with warmth and bitterness, "This is the counsel of women" In short, although a great portion of A'zam Sháh's army was busy in destroying and plundering, strict and precise orders were issued to the leading forces, and on the 18th Rabí'u-l awwal, 1119 A.H (10th June, 1707 A D.), the two armies joined battle at Jájú, seven or eight *kos* from Ágra. [*Long details of the action*]

Prince Bedár Bakht, after rendering splendid service, which shed a halo round him, was killed by a cannon-ball, and many of his followers also fell. * * His younger brother Wálájáh was killed by a ball from a *zambúrak* * * A strong wind arose, which blew straight from the side of Sháh 'Álam against the army of A'zam Sháh, so that every arrow, with the help of the wind of fate, reached the army of A'zam Sháh, and pierced through armour, * * but the rockets and the arrows and the

balls from his side, being resisted by the contrary wind, failed to reach the ranks of the enemy, and fell upon the ground. It is said that Tarbiyat Khán twice discharged a musket from the army of A'zam Sháh against Prince 'Azímu-sh Shán. Both shots failed, but a musket-ball from the other side reached the Khán's breast, and at the same moment an arrow pierced him and he died

Matters now looked ill in every way for A'zam Sháh. * * On the side of Sháh 'Álam fourteen or fifteen nobles of distinction were killed, * * and a great number on the side of A'zam Sháh were slain. Zú-l fikár Khán received a slight wound upon the lip. When he saw that the day was lost, that many of his valiant companions in arms were slain, and that A'zam Sháh's army was pressed so hard that there was no hope of deliverance, he went to the Prince and said, "Your ancestors have had to endure the same kind of reverse, and have been deprived of their armies, but they did not refuse to do what the necessities of the case required The best course for you now is to leave the field of battle, and to remove to a distance, when fortune may perhaps assist you, and you may retrieve your reverse." A'zam Sháh flew into a rage, and said, "Go with your bravery, and save your life wherever you can, it is impossible for me to leave this field for princes there is (only the choice of) a throne or a bier" (*takht ya takhta*) Zú-l fikár Khán, accompanied by Hámidu-d dín Khán, then went off to Gwálior

The ill-fated Prince now found himself left with only two or three hundred horsemen among thousands of enemies, and amid a rain of arrows and balls In this extremity he exclaimed, "It is not Sháh 'Álam who fights against me, God has abandoned me, and fortune has turned against me." He had an infant son with him in his *howda*, whom he endeavoured to shield from the balls and arrows. That brave young Prince desired to show the valour of his race, but his father forbade him, and tried still more to protect him Two or three drivers fell wounded from the elephant, and the animal itself was pierced with many wounds,

and became impatient. Death was threatening, and A'zam Sháh felt that his foot was in the stirrup for his last journey, but he bravely got out of the *howda*, and endeavoured to control the elephant and drive him forward, but he was unable. The sun of his life was near its setting—an arrow struck him in the forehead and ended his existence. Rustam 'Alí Khán, who had got near to the elephant, hearing what had happened, mounted the animal, and cut off the head of the Prince with his pitiless sword. He carried it to the army of Sháh 'Álam, and the shouts of victory rose high. * * When Sháh 'Álam saw the gory head of his brother, he looked fiercely at that dog Rustam 'Alí Khán, and burst into tears.

All the four Princes, Khán-khánán and his sons, and the other *amirs*, came to congratulate the victor The jewels and *ashrafis* which were in the *howda* of A'zam Sháh were plundered, all else, tents, elephants, guns and equipments were secured Sháh 'Álam caused a small tent to be pitched, in which he offered up his thanks for the victory. He then had the sons of A'zam Sháh brought to his presence, the eldest son and the Princes Bedár-dil and Sa'íd-bakht He received them most kindly, embraced them, and stroked their heads with paternal gentleness He promised them safety and every attention and care, and he did his best to console and comfort the ladies He embraced Khán-khánán, and avowed that all the success was owing to his exertions and devotion Lastly, he ordered the corpses of A'zam Sháh, Bedár Bakht, and his brother, to be properly tended, and to be carried for interment near the tomb of the Emperor Humáyún.

Next day Sháh 'Álam went to visit Khán-khánán, and raised him to the highest rank, with the title of *Khán-khánan Bahádur Zafar Jang* and *Yar-i wafádár* (faithful friend) He presented him with a *kror* of rupees in cash and goods, a larger bounty than had ever been bestowed on any individual since the rise of the House of Tímúr. His *mansab* was increased to 7000 and 7000 horse, five thousand being *do-aspas* and *sih-aspas* He also

received two *krors* of *dáms* as *in'ám*, and he was confirmed in the office of *wazir*. Of the ten *lacs* of rupees which he offered as *peshkash*, one was accepted Na'ím Khán, his eldest son, received the title of Khán-zamán Bahádur, with an increase to 5000 and 5000 horse, and a robe of the third rank The younger son was entitled Khána-zád Khán Bahádur, and his *mansab* was increased to 4000 and 3000 horse Each of the four royal Princes had his *mansab* increased to 30,000 and 20,000 horse. [*Many other honours and rewards.*]

When the news of the victory and of the death of A'zam Sháh reached Gwálior, weeping and wailing arose from every tent. *Amiru-l umará* Asad Khán went to wait upon Zebu-n Nissa Begam, eldest sister of A'zam Sháh, to offer his condolences to her and the other ladies. In concert with 'Ináyatu-llah Khán *díwán*, he placed seals upon the jewels, the treasure and other effects, and then prepared to set off to the presence of Bahádur Sháh. A gracious *farmán* promising favour and safety arrived, summoning to the presence *Amiru-l umará* Asad Khán, Zú-l fikár Khán Nusrat Jang and Hámidu-d dín Khán, who had repaired to Gwálior (before the battle), and they were to bring with them the ladies of the late Prince with their establishments. *Amiru-l umara* accompanied the retinue of Nawáb Kudsiya Zebu-n Nissa, who was clothed in mourning garments. When they arrived, the Begam did not go through the form of offering congratulations, in consequence of her being in mourning, and this vexed the King But he treated her with great kindness and indulgence, doubled her annual allowance, and gave her the title of Pádsháh Begam All the other ladies of A'zam Sháh were treated with great sympathy and liberality, and were ordered to accompany Pádsháh Begam to the capital.

Promotions, Appointments, and other Arrangements.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 599] To Asad Khán was given the title *Nizámu-l Mulk A'safu-d daula* He was also made *vakíl-i mutlak*, as the office was called in former reigns, and

the appointment and removal of *wazírs* and other officials used to be in this grandee's hands He was also presented with four stallions, five horses with accoutrements, etc, etc., and was allowed the privilege of having his drums beaten in the royal presence. Some envious spirits privately observed that the *Amíru-l umará* had been the close friend and trusted adviser of A'zam Sháh, but the Emperor answered that if his own sons had been in the Dakhin, the exigencies of the position would have compelled them to join their uncle. Zú-l fikár Khán's *mansab* was increased to 7000 and 7000 horse He received the title of *Samsamu-d daula Amíru-l Bahádur Nusrat Jang*, and was reinstated in his office of *Mír-bakhshí* [*Other promotions and rewards.*] In short, all the adherents, great and small, of the King and Princes, received *lacs* of rupees in *in'ám*, fourfold and sixfold augmentations of their *mansabs*, and presents of jewels and elephants

Although the office of *wazír* had been given to Khán-khánán, it was deemed expedient, in order to conciliate Asad Khán *Amíru-l umara* and Zú-l fikár Khán, to elevate Asad Khán to the position of *wazír* To outward appearance he was raised to this dignity; but whenever any ministerial business of importance arose, Khán-khánán did not communicate it to Ásafu d daula On the day that Ásafu-d daula acted as *díwán*, it became incumbent upon Khán-khánán to wait upon him as other ministers did, and to obtain his signature to documents, but this was disagreeable to him. Ásafu-d daula was desirous of rest, for his continual activity during the reign of Aurangzeb had allowed him little enjoyment of life. So it was arranged that Samsámu-d daula should act as deputy for his father in the office of minister, and that his father should take charge of Nawáb Pádsháh Begam, and repair to the capital to pass his old age in comfort. With the exception that the seal of Ásafu-d daula was placed upon revenue and civil *parwánas* and *sanads*, he had no part in the administration of the government.

An order was issued that the late Emperor Aurangzeb should be styled *Khuld-makán*.

Khán-khánán discharged his duties as *wazír* with repute, in-

tegrity and impartiality, and he exerted himself so earnestly in the performance of his work, that when he took his seat, he appointed officers to see that no petitions or letters of the day before remained unnoticed. One of the most acceptable and beneficial of the measures of Khán-khánán was the relief he afforded in that oppressive grievance, the feed of the cattle of the *mansabdárs*. To explain this matter briefly, it may be said that in the late reign the *ákhta-begis* and other rapacious officials had so contrived that the responsibility of providing food for the cattle had been fixed on the *mansabdárs* Notwithstanding the *mansabdárs*, through the smallness of their surplus rents, had been for a long time in want of a loaf for supper,[1] (the officials), after great perseverance and pressure, got something out of the small total of (each) *jágir*. Although a *jagir* might be lying waste, and its total income would not suffice for a half or a third of the expense of the animals, and leave a little to supply the necessaries of life to the holder's wife and family, the officials imprisoned his *vakils*, and with violence and insult demanded contributions for the food of the cattle. The *vakils* complained of this tyranny to the Emperor, but the *dárogha* of the elephant stables and the *ákhta-begi* made protestations which satisfied His Majesty, so that the complaints met with no redress. This oppression reached such a height that the *vakils* resigned their offices In the present reign Khán-khánán made an arrangement by which *tankhwah* (cash) was to be given to the *mansabdars* of *jágirs*. Money sufficient for the keep of the animals being deducted from the total rent (of the *jágirs*), the balance remaining was to be paid in cash. By these means the grievance of the animal's keep was entirely removed from the *mansabdárs* and the *vakils* Indeed it may be said that an order was given remitting the contributions for the food of the animals.[2]

[1] Here comes a parenthetical sentence

که پادشاه خود دستخط یک انار و صد بیمار نموده بودند

which means th "the Emperor (on some representation about this matter) had written (he proverb) 'There is (but) one pomegranate and a hundred sick men (requiring it) ' "—Roebuck's Proverbs, No 2211

[2] Parts of this passage are involved and the meaning is not always clear

Khán-khánán had a strong partiality for Súfí-ism, and had a knowledge of science. He wrote a book called *Al Hámiya*, upon the spiritual life and Súfí mysticism, which in the opinion of controversialists passes beyond the bounds of the Law upon some points.

Orders were given that in the coinage of rupees and *ashrafis* no verse should be used, but that the name "Sháh 'Álam Bahádur Sháh" and the name of the (mint) city should be impressed in prose. It was also ordered that in the *khutba* the name "Sháh 'Álam" should be embellished by the title "Saiyid" It appears from history that from the rise of the House of Tímúr—nay, even from the foundation of the Ghorí dynasty—no one of the monarchs had ever used the title of Saiyid in the *khutba*, or in his pedigree, with the exception of Khizr Khán He (Khizr Khán) was by origin and by the names of his ancestors an Afghán, as is apparent by the title Malik, but after he came to the throne of Dehlí, the historians of his reign, upon very weak proofs, applied to him in a loose way the title of Saiyid.

Ajít Singh and other Rájpúts.

[Text, vol ii p 605] Towards the end of the year 1119 the Emperor marched from Ágra, with the intention of chastising the *Rajpúts* in the vicinity of Údípúr and Jodpúr. From the reports of the news-writers of the province of Ajmír, and the *parganas* around Jodpúr, the following matters became known to His Majesty Rája Ajít Singh, who was called the son of Rája Jaswant, had been brought up by the wiles of Durgá Dás, and other evil-disposed infidels, as the son of the deceased Rája [1] He had cast off his allegiance to the late Emperor, and done many improper things After the death of Aurangzeb he again showed his disobedience and rebellion by oppressing Musulmáns, forbidding the killing of cows, preventing the summons to prayer, razing the mosques which had been built after the destruction of the idol-temples in the late reign, and repairing and building anew idol-temples. He

[1] See *suprà*, p 296

warmly supported and assisted the army of the Ráná of U'dípúr, and was closely allied with Rája Jai Singh, whose son-in-law he was. He had carried his disaffection so far that he had not attended at Court since the accession. On the 8th Sha'bán the Emperor marched to punish this rebel and his tribe, by way of Ámber, the native land of Jai Singh, between Ajmír and Chitor. * *

Ajít Singh and his allied Rájas knew that submission and obedience alone could save them and their families and property; so he addressed himself to Khán-khánán and his son Khán-zamán, expressing his sorrow, humility, and obedience; and he sent a message humbly asking that Khán-zamán and the *Kázíu-l Kuzát* might come into Jodpúr, to rebuild the mosques, destroy the idol-temples, enforce the provisions of the law about the summons to prayer and the killing of cows, to appoint magistrates and to commission officers to collect the *jizya*. His submission was graciously accepted, and his requests granted[1] Officers of justice, *kázís*, *muftís*, *imáms*, and *muazzins* (criers to prayer) were appointed in Jodpúr and other towns in the country Ajít Singh and Jai Singh, with the concurrence of Durgá Dás, who was the very soul of the opposition, came to Court in hope of receiving pardon for their offences, and each was honoured with the gift of a robe, elephant, etc.

SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1119 A.H. (1707–8 A.D.)

Prince Muhammad Kám Bakhsh.

[Text, vol ii. p. 608.] A kind and admonitory letter was addressed by the Emperor to his brother Prince Muhammad Kám Bakhsh to the following effect "Our father entrusted you with the government of the *súba* of Bíjápúr, we now relinquish to you the government of the two *súbas* of Bíjápúr and Haidar-

[1] The *Taskira-i Chaghatái* adds that Amar Singh, Ráná of U'dípúr, sent a present of jewels (in token of submission)

ábád, with all their subjects and belongings, upon the condition, according to the old rule of the Dakhin, that the coins shall be struck and the *khutba* read in our name The tribute which has hitherto been paid by the governors of these two provinces we remit" * *

A few words shall now be written about Prince Muhammad Kám Bakhsh and his proceedings. [*Cruel punishments and execution of Ahsan Khán and others*] In answer to the kind letter which Kám Bakhsh received from his brother Bahádur Sháh, he wrote a provoking reply.[1] Kám Bakhsh arrived at Burhánpúr at the beginning of Jumáda-l awwal, where he was detained some time by the swollen state of the Taptí. * * Marching from thence by way of Malkápúr and Nander, he had got within two or three marches of Haidarábád at the end of Shawwál. His whole army had dwindled away through his violent bloodthirsty madness; five or six hundred horse were all that remained with him, and they were sorely distressed by harsh treatment, hunger, and sight of bloodshed Bahádur Sháh had with him nearly 8000 horse. * * Kám Bakhsh advanced until he was only two or three *kos* from Haidarábád. His small force now consisted only of * * a few bold companions who would not leave him and three or four hundred horse. * * The orders given to Bahádur Sháh's commanders were that they were not to bring on a fight, but to surround Kám Bakhsh so that he should not be killed, and the blood of Musulmáns should not be spilt. * * Khán-khánán and Zú-l fikár Khán, with their respective forces, were about a cannon-shot distant from the enemy, expecting the order to attack. As they had been ordered not to begin the battle, they waited until noon, but sent repeated messages to the Emperor for leave to begin They were told that he was taking his usual nap. Whether it were so, or whether this evasion was connived at, the generals received no reply

Zú-l fikár Khán had an old-standing aversion to Kám Bakhsh,

[1] The *Tazkira-i Chaghatái* gives both letters at length.

and repeatedly urged Khán-khánán to attack. Kám Bakhsh, with a heart full of fear and hope, stood firm, expecting the onslaught. At length Zú-l fikár Khán, awaiting no longer the consent of the Emperor or the co-operation of Khán-khánán, advanced to the attack. This movement compelled Khán-khánán to advance also with his fourteen or fifteen thousand horse. * * Two or three of the companions of Kám Bakhsh were killed or wounded, but he stood firm, fighting desperately. He received three or four wounds, but he used his bow so well in the face of three thousand foes, that a terror fell upon them, and they were near upon taking flight. He emptied two quivers and wounded and brought many men down; but loss of blood from his many wounds prevailed, he lost his strength, and the enemy surrounded his elephant and made him prisoner His youngest son, who was on the same elephant, was also made prisoner after receiving four or five severe wounds. Muhíu-s Sunnat, the eldest son, fought bravely. The drivers and others on his elephant fell wounded one after the other He then drove the animal himself, but fell in the *howda* wounded with balls and arrows. * * The elephant ran off into the country, but was caught by a party of Mahrattas, and the Prince became a prisoner. * * All the men of Kám Bakhsh who fought near his elephant were killed, and were found to be sixty-two in number. * *

Kám Bakhsh and his two sons, all desperately wounded, were taken to Khuld-manzil, and placed near the royal tent. European and Greek surgeons were appointed to attend them. Kám Bakhsh rejected all treatment, and refused to take the broth prepared for his food In the evening the King went to see his brother He sat down by his side, and took the cloak from his own back, and covered him who lay dejected and despairing, fallen from throne and fortune He showed him the greatest kindness, asked him about his state, and said, "I never wished to see you in this condition." Kám Bakhsh replied, "Neither did I wish that one of the race of Tímúr should be made prisoner with the imputation of cowardice and want of spirit." The King

gave him two or three spoonfuls of broth with his own hands, and then departed with his eyes full of tears. Three or four watches afterwards, Kám Bakhsh and one of his sons named Fírozmand died.[1] Both corpses were sent to Dehlí, to be interred near the tomb of Humáyún.

Nímá[2] *Sindhiá. The Mahrattas.*

[Text, vol. ii. p 625] Nímá Sindhiá had been one of the most renowned of all the "*Ná-sardárs*" (i.e *Mahratta sardárs*), and one of the greatest leaders of the accursed armies of the Dakhin. His plundering and destructive raids had extended as far as the province of Málwá Now, under the patronage and advice of Zú-l fikár Khán, he had turned the face of repentance to the Imperial throne, with the hope of forgiveness He had taken part in the battle against Kám Bakhsh, and having thus won the Imperial favour, he and his sons and relations had received the honour of being presented to His Majesty He received a *mansab* of 7000 and 5000 horse, two *lacs* of rupees, a robe, an elephant, a drum, etc His sons and grandsons each received *mansabs* of 5000 and 4000—altogether 40,000 and 25,000 horse. * *

Rája Sáhú's *vakíl* was introduced by Zú-l fikár Khán Bahádur Nusrat Jang, who was *Súbadár* of the whole Dakhin, and held as well the office of *Mír-bakhshí* The *vakíl* presented an application for a *farmán* conferring on Sáhú the *sar-deshmukhí* and the *chauth* of the six *súbas* of the Dakhin, on condition of restoring prosperity to the ruined land Jumlatu-l Mulk Mun'im Khán Khán-khánán had separated the *súba* of Burhánpúr and half the *súba* of Birár (which in the revenue records and in common language is called Birár Páyín-ghát) from the six *súbas* of the

[1] According to the *Tazkira-i Chaghatái*, the names of the three sons were Sultán Muhíu-s Sunnat, Fírozmand, and Báriku-llah, and it was the latter who died.

[2] The Text calls him "Nībá," but a variant reading (p 621) gives "Nímá," and this agrees with Grant Duff, who calls him "Neemajee Sindia."

Dakhin, in accordance with the arrangement which obtained under the Fárúkí dynasty and under the Emperor Akbar, and he had included these among the *súbas* dependent on Dehlí, which by universal accord is the capital (*asl*) of Hindústán. He was desirous that the civil and revenue affairs (of these *súbas*) and the appointment and dismissal of officers should be under the direction of his eldest son Mahábat Khán This caused a disagreement between Zú-l fikár Khán and Mun'im Khán, for the *Bakhshiu-l Mulk* was not at all desirous that any one else should have any authority or control in the civil and revenue affairs of the Dakhin.

Tárá Báí was widow of Rám Rája, that is, she was the widow of the uncle of Rája Sáhú, and Rám Rája left two sons by her of tender years. In the reign of the late Emperor Aurangzeb, after a warfare of ten years, she sued for peace, on condition of being allowed to levy nine rupees per cent as *sar-deshmukhi* As has been stated in the proper place, Aurangzeb declined for various reasons. Now, by the intervention of Jumlatu-l Mulk, she asked for a *farmán* in the name of her son, granting the nine rupees of the *sar-deshmukhi*, without any reference to the *chauth*,[1] for which he would suppress other insurgents and restore order in the country Samsámu-d daula Zú-l fikár Khán took the side of Rája Sáhú, and a great contention upon the matter arose between the two ministers. The King, in his extreme good nature, had resolved in his heart that he would not reject the petition of any one, whether of low or high degree. The complainants and defendants made their statements to His Majesty, and although they differed as much as morning and evening, each was accepted, and an order of consent was given. So in this matter of the *sar-deshmukhi*, *farmáns* were directed to be given in compliance with the requests both of Mun'im Khán and Zú-l fikár Khán; but in consequence of the quarrel between these two nobles, the orders about the *sar-deshmukhi* remained inoperative.

[1] ک پاي چوتهه درميان نباشد

Titles. Character of Bahádur Sháh.

[vol ii. p. 627.] Since the rise of the House of Tímúr it had been the rule that one and the same title should not be given to two persons * * But now the ugly practice arose of giving the same title to two or more persons, and in the same way the grants of *mansabs*, *naubat* and *nakára*, elephants, the *jigha* and *sar-pech* were no longer regulated by the rank and dignity of the recipient.

For generosity, munificence, boundless good nature, extenuation of faults, and forgiveness of offences, very few monarchs have been found equal to Bahádur Sháh in the histories of past times, and especially in the race of Tímúr But though he had no vice in his character, such complacency and such negligence were exhibited in the protection of the state and in the government and management of the country, that witty sarcastic people found the date of his accession in the words, *Shah-i be-khabr*, "Heedless King" He often sat up all night, and used to sleep to the middle of the day, so in marching his people had to suffer great inconvenience, for many poor fellows were unable to find their tents in dark nights when the army and baggage were scattered about, and had to pass the night in front of the royal tent, or the drum room or offices or the *bázárs*.

The Freebooter Páp Rái.[1]

[Text, vol ii p. 630.] The *Kazi* of Warangal and many of the chief men of that country came to Court with grievous complaints of a man named Páp Rái. This infamous man was by birth a toddy-seller. He had a sister, a widow possessing some property. He went to see her, and after four or five days' stay with her, he cast his eyes upon her money and effects. He got some fellows to join him. He then tortured his sister most

[1] The story of this man is told at great length, and a summary of it is here given, as an illustration of the condition of the Dakhin at this time

cruelly, burnt her limbs, and took from her all her money and jewels He enlisted a lot of footmen, and having made himself a stronghold on the top of a little hill, he began to rob travellers and pillage the neighbourhood.

The *faujdárs* and *zamindárs* resolved to make him prisoner; but he got intelligence of their intention, and fled to Venkat Ráo, *Zamindár* of Kolás, and entered his service. After a little while he joined another man in the same service, and they began to plunder on their own account. Venkat Ráo seized them and kept them in rigorous confinement. But the Ráo's son fell ill, and his wife, as a means of saving her son's life, obtained the release of all the Ráo's prisoners. Páp Ráí went to the village of Sháhpúr, in the *pargana* of Narganda, *sarkár* of Bhúngír,[1] and there joined another noted ruffian named Sarwá He gathered round him a party of men, and raised a mud fort in a rocky position at Sháhpúr, which is a place of considerable strength. He then plundered all the country round. * *

The *faujdár* of *pargana* Kulpák, which is seven or eight *kos* from Sháhpúr, sent Kásim Khán Afghán with a suitable force to apprehend him. * * Páp Ráí from time to time confronted this force, and, seizing his opportunity, attacked one of the villages of Kulpák, but Kásim Khán fell upon him, killed a number of his men, and put him to flight. He proceeded to another hill of refuge, and Kásim Khán, while following him, was killed by a musket-ball, and his force was then driven back * * Another force besieged him and Sarwá in Sháhpúr for two months, but he escaped The fort of Sháhpúr was then destroyed; but after the withdrawal of the forces, Páp Ráí and Sarwá returned, and instead of the old mud fort, built a new one of stone and *chunam*, which they furnished with cannon and implements of war. * *

Páp Ráí now extended his operations, and plundered all the country from fifteen to twenty *kos* round. * * He was attacked by Pur Dil Khán, who, after mortally wounding Sarwá, was him-

[1] Bhúngír lies upon a line drawn from Warangal to Haidarábád, and the other places named are north of that line

self killed. * * Páp Rái increased his forces and materials of war, and now turned his efforts to the reduction of forts. Parties were frequently sent out against him, and he was besieged for two months in Sháhpúr, but without result * * In Muharram, 1120, he attacked and plundered the flourishing town of Warangal, and killed from twelve to thirteen thousand men, women and children. * * He next attacked and was near upon capturing the fort of Bhúngír, sixteen *kos* from Haidarábád, and he plundered the town and *petta*, * * carrying off two or three thousand men and women as prisoners * * Afterwards he built another fort near Tárikandá, four *kos* from Sháhpúr, which he furnished with all requirements and a strong garrison * *

His depredations were so great that the King was petitioned to march against him in person. * * Yúsuf Khán was appointed to the *súbadárí*, and was ordered to suppress this rebel. * * Before any force was sent against him, he laid siege to the town of Kulpák, eight *kos* from Sháhpúr * * On a force coming up, he was driven with loss to Sháhpúr. * * During a short absence from Sháhpúr some of his prisoners broke loose and seized upon the fort, * * and he had to return and besiege it, but failed to take it, as a detachment came from Kulpák, and fought him. * * * He then fled to Tárikandá, * * whither he was pursued * * * After a siege of nine months, many of his men were induced to desert, * * his provisions ran short, * * and the *petta* and part of the works were taken in repeated assaults. * * He again fled, and his absence did not become known for two days He went alone to Hasanábád, a place which he had founded two stages from Tárikandá, where he was betrayed. He was wounded, captured, and executed. His head was sent to Court, and his limbs were exposed over the gate of Haidarábád.

Third Year of the Reign, 1120 A.H. (1708–9 A.D.).

The Sikhs.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 651.] There is a sect of infidels called *Gurú*, more commonly known as *Sikhs*. Their chief, who dresses as a *fakir*, has a fixed residence near Láhore. From old times he has built temples in all the towns and populous places, and has appointed one of his followers to preside in each temple as his deputy When any one of the sect brought presents or offerings for the *Gurú* to the temple, the deputy had to collect them, and, after deducting sufficient for his own food and expenses, his duty was to send the balance faithfully to the *Gurú* This sect consists principally of *Játs* and *Khatrís* of the Panjáb and of other tribes of infidels When Aurangzeb got knowledge of these matters, he ordered these deputy *Gurús* to be removed and the temples to be pulled down.

At the time that Bahádur Sháh marched towards Haidarábád, Gobind, the chief *Gurú* of the sect, came to join him with two or three hundred horsemen bearing spears and some footmen. After two or three months, he died from the wounds of a dagger, and his murderer was not discovered When the news of his death reached the Panjáb, where the bulk of the Sikhs were living, an obscure member of the sect, about the name[1] given to whom there are various statements, gave out that in the course of transmigration, which the Sikhs believe in and call *avatar*, he had taken the place of the murdered Gobind, who had come to life again as a bearded man in his body, for the purpose of taking revenge This worthless dog, having published this statement, stirred up disaffection in the sect, and raised the standard of rebellion. By jugglery, charms, and sorcery, he pretended to perform miracles before credulous people, and gave himself the name of *Sachá Padsháh* "True King"

He began to plunder in the Panjáb and the country about

[1] He is known by the name of "Banda"

Sihrind, and in the course of three or four months he gathered round him four or five thousand pony (*yábú*) riders and seven or eight thousand motley footmen. His numbers daily increased, and much plunder fell into his hands, until he had eighteen or nineteen thousand men under arms, and carried on a predatory and cruel warfare He fought with two or three *faujdárs* who went out to punish him, defeated them and killed them. In many villages which he plundered he appointed *thánádárs* and *tahsildárs* to collect the revenues of the neighbourhood for him, and matters came to such a pass that with three or four thousand infidels who were leagued with him, he wrote orders to the Imperial officials and the managers of the *jágirdars*, calling upon them to submit to him, and to relinquish their posts.

Wazír Khán, *Faujdár* of Sihrind, had held the charge of the civil and revenue affairs of that district for a long time He had some troops and treasure, and had obtained a reputation by his firm management When he heard how districts in his charge had been ravaged and plundered, he set about collecting troops and warlike equipments He joined with him four or five *faujdárs* and *zamíndárs* of name, prepared lead and gunpowder, mustered five or six thousand horse and seven or eight thousand musketeers (*barkandás*) and archers, and with these and some artillery and elephants he marched out to give battle and to punish that perverse sect. After marching three or four *kos*, he came up with the enemy

The accursed wretches had got warning of the movement of Wazír Khán, and advanced to meet him. All his followers kept shouting "*Sachá Pádshah*" and "*Fath daras*" The battle began, and great bravery was shown on both sides, but especially by the confederate sectarians. They advanced sword in hand against the elephants, and brought two of them down. Many Musulmáns found martyrdom, and many of the infidels went to the sink of perdition. The Musulmán forces were hardly able to endure the repeated attacks of the infidels, when a musket-ball made a martyr of Wazír Khán, and they were put to flight.

Money and baggage, horses and elephants, fell into the hands of the infidels, and not a man of the army of Islám escaped with more than his life and the clothes he stood in. Horsemen and footmen in great numbers fell under the swords of the infidels, who pursued them as far as Sihrind.

Sihrind was an opulent town, with wealthy merchants, bankers, and tradesmen, men of money, and gentlemen of every class; and there were especially learned and religious men in great numbers residing there. No one found the opportunity of saving his life, or wealth, or family. When they heard of the death of Wazír Khán, and the rout of his army, they were seized with panic. They were shut up in the town, and for one or two days made some ineffectual resistance, but were obliged to bow to fate. The evil dogs fell to plundering, murdering, and making prisoners of the children and families of high and low, and carried on their atrocities for three or four days with such violence that they tore open the wombs of pregnant women, dashed every living child upon the ground, set fire to the houses, and involved rich and poor in one common ruin Wherever they found a mosque, a tomb, or a gravestone of a respected Musulmán, they broke it to pieces, dug it up, and made no sin of scattering the bones of the dead When they had done with the pillage of Sihrind, they appointed officers to collect the rents and taxes in all the dependent districts.

Accounts of the calamity which had fallen upon Sihrind reached 'Alí Muhammad Khán, *Faujdár* of Saháranpúr, and he was terror-struck Although a number of gentlemen and Afgháns gathered round him and urged him to act boldly and to put his fortifications in a state of defence, it was of no avail; he went off to Dehlí with his property and family. The men of the town assembled, and, moved by one spirit, they threw up breastworks all round. When the villainous foe arrived, they made a manful resistance, and fighting under the protection of their houses, they kept up such a discharge of arrows and balls, that they sent many of their assailants to hell. Many men of

noble and respectable families fell fighting bravely, and obtained the honour of martyrdom. The property and the families of numbers of the inhabitants fell into the hands of the enemy, and numerous women, seeing that their honour was at stake, and captivity before them, threw themselves into wells A party of brave gentlemen collected their wives and families in one spot, and kept up such a manful resistance that they saved the lives, the property, and the honour of their families.

After a large booty of money, jewels, and goods of Sárangpúr had fallen into the hands of the enemy, they took measures to secure the surrounding country, and they sent severe orders to Jalál Khán, *Faujdar* of Jalálábád, who had founded the town and built the fort, and was famed for his boldness and valour throughout the country. When the letter of the accursed wretches reached him, he ordered the bearers to be exposed to derision and turned out of the place He set his defences in order, collected materials of war, and did his best to protect the name and honour of those around him, and to get together a force sufficient to oppose the infidels Intelligence was brought in that the enemy were only three or four *kos* distant, and they had attacked and surrounded two villages dependent on Jalálábád, the forts and houses of which were full of property belonging to merchants

Jalál Khán sent out three or four hundred Afghán horse, and nearly a thousand musketeers and archers, under the command of Ghulám Muhammad Khán, his own grandson, and Hizbar Khán, to relieve the besieged places and drive off the infidels. Their arrival greatly encouraged the people who were assailed. Four or five hundred brave musketeers and bowmen and numbers of peasants, armed with all sorts of weapons, and with slings, came forward boldly to oppose the enemy, and the battle grew warm Although the enemy fought with great courage and daring, and Hizbar Khán with a great many Musulmáns and peasants were killed, the repeated attacks of the Afgháns and other Musulmáns of name and station routed the

enemy, and they fled, after a great number had been slain. Several fights afterwards took place between Jalál Khán, and the infidels received two or three defeats, but they still persevered with the investment of Jalálábád.

At length seventy or eighty thousand men swarmed together from all parts like ants and locusts They brought with them two or three hundred movable *morchâls* made of planks, on which they had placed wheels as upon carts, and with them surrounded Jalálábád as with a ring. It is impossible to relate in full all the brave deeds done by the Afgháns in their conflicts with the enemy. The assailants advanced their *morchals* to the foot of the wall, when they discharged arrows, musket-balls, and stones, and raising their cry of "*Fath daras*," they strove in the most daring way, with four or five hundred pickaxes and other implements, to undermine the wall, to pass over it by ladders, and to burn the gate. The Afgháns threw open the gate, and went out with their drawn swords in their hands, and shields over their heads, and in every attack killed and wounded a hundred or two of the infidels. Many Musulmáns also fell Attacks were also made upon the enemy at night For twenty days and nights the besieged could get neither food nor rest At length the infidels, having lost many thousand men and gained no advantage, raised the siege They went off to reduce Sultánpúr and the *parganas* of the Jálandhar Doáb They sent a letter to Shams Khán, the *Faujdár*, calling upon him to submit, to carry out certain instructions, and to come to meet them with his treasure. * *

Shams Khán, with four or five thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, armed with matchlocks, bows and all kinds of weapons, which they had possessed for a long time or newly acquired, went forth accompanied by the *zamindars* Gentlemen of every tribe, peasants, and mechanics, principally weavers, came forth boldly to stake their lives and property in resisting the infidels. They pledged themselves to support each other, and contributed their money for the general good More than a hundred thousand men so assembled, and went forth from Sultánpúr with

great display. The infidels, on hearing of these bold proceedings of Shams Khán, and of his coming forth with such an army and implements of war, moved with their whole force, amounting to seventy or eighty thousand horse and foot They had with them the guns they had brought from Sihrind, their plank constructions, bags full of sand for making lines, and lead and gunpowder. Plundering everywhere as they went, they came to Ráhún,[1] seven *kos* from Sultánpúr. There they had halted, and took post by a brick-kiln, all the bricks of which they used for making a sort of fort; and having thrown up lines all round, they made ready for battle. They sent out patrols in all directions, and they wrote threatening orders to the *chaudharis* and *kánúngos* calling upon them to submit

Shams Khán had many thousands of brave Musulmáns on his right hand and his left, all animated with desire for a holy war and hope of martyrdom, who encouraged each other and said, "If Shams Khán is defeated and killed, our lives and property and families are all lost" Vying with and inspiriting each other, they advanced boldly to within cannon-shot of the enemy At the close of the first watch of the day, the battle began with a discharge of guns and muskets. Ten or twelve thousand balls and stones from slings came rattling like hail upon the forces of Islám, but by God's mercy produced no great effect, and no man of note was killed. Shams Khán forbade haste and a useless discharge of ammunition. He went steadily forward, and after a volley or two from the infidels, he sent forward an elephant supported by forty or fifty thousand Musulmáns who had come together from all parts. They raised their war-cry, charged the infidels, and killed and wounded great numbers.

The infidels, after fruitless struggles, were overpowered, and being discouraged, they took refuge in the fort of Ráhún, of which they had obtained possession before the battle. This was invested, and a general fire of muskets and rockets began The garrison of the fort of Ráhún had left in it their warlike stores

[1] In the Jálandhar Doáb

and provisions when they evacuated it, and of these the infidels took possession and stood firm in the fort. They were invested for some days; but at night parties of them came out, and attacked the forces of Islám, killing men and horses Both sides were in difficulty, but especially the enemy. They evacuated the fort at night and fled. Shams Khán pursued them for some *kos*, and took from them a gun and some baggage, camels and bullocks, with which he returned to Sultánpúr.

Next day about a thousand of the enemy attacked the garrison which Shams Khán had placed in Ráhún, drove them out and occupied it themselves. The enemy then proceeded to plunder the neighbourhood of Láhore, and great alarm was felt in that city and all around Islám Khán, the Prince's *díwán*, and *naib* of the *súba* of Láhore, in concert with Kázim Khán, the royal *díwán*, and other officials, after setting in order the fortifications of the city, went out with a large muster of Musulmáns and Hindús, and encamped four or five *kos* from the city, where he busied himself in cutting off the patrolling parties of the enemy The people in Láhore were safe from danger to life and property, but the outskirts up to the garden of Shálimár, which is situated two *kos* from the city, were very much ravaged

For eight or nine months, and from two or three days' march of Dehlí to the environs of Láhore, all the towns and places of note were pillaged by these unclean wretches, and trodden under foot and destroyed Men in countless numbers were slain, the whole country was wasted, and mosques and tombs were razed. After leaving Láhore, they returned to the towns and villages of Shádhúra and Karnál, the *faujdár* of which place was slain after resisting to the best of his ability Now especially great havoc was made A hundred or two hundred Hindús and Musulmáns who had been made prisoners were made to sit down in one place, and were slaughtered. These infidels had set up a new rule, and had forbidden the shaving of the hair of the head and beard. Many of the ill-disposed low-caste Hindús joined themselves to them, and placing their lives at the disposal of these evil-minded

people, they found their own advantage in professing belief and obedience, and they were very active in persecuting and killing other castes of Hindús

The revolt and the ravages of this perverse sect were brought under the notice of His Majesty, and greatly troubled him, but he did not deem its suppression so urgent as the putting down of the *Rájpút* rebellion, so the royal armies were not sent against them at present Giving the *Rájpút* difficulty his first attention, the royal army marched from Ujjain towards the homes of the *Rájpúts*.

The Rájpúts

[vol ii p 661] The march of the royal army to lay waste the land of the *Rájpúts* awakened these rebellious people to a sense of their danger. They sent representatives to make friends of Khán-khánán Mu'azzam Khán and Mahábat Khán, and through their intervention to obtain peace The Emperor was in some points unwilling to concede this, but the troubles near Láhore and Dehlí disturbed him, and he yielded to the representations of the *vakíls* for the sake of being at liberty to punish these infidel rebels. It was settled that Rája Jai Singh, Rája Ajít Singh, and the *vakíls* of the Ráná and other *Rájpúts*, should make their homage, put on the robes presented to them, and accompany the royal train All the *Rajputs* of name and station, forming a body of thirty or forty thousand horse, passed in review, they tied their hands with handkerchiefs, and paid homage in front of the cavalcade Robes, horses, and elephants were then distributed.

FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1121 A H. (1709-10 A.D)

[vol ii p. 663] An order was given (near the end of the previous year of the reign) that the word *wasi* (heir) should be inserted among the attributes of the Khalif 'Alí in the *khutba*[1]

[1] This was a Shí'a innovation, and signified that 'Alí came next in succession after the Prophet According to the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirín*, the formula was, "And 'Alí is the saint of God and the heir of the Prophet of God"—Briggs, p 26

When this order reached Láhore, Ján Muhammad and Hájí Yár Muhammad, the most eminent learned men in that city, in accord with many other good and learned men, went in a crowd to the houses of the *Kási* and the *Sadr*, to forbid the reading of the word *wasi* in the *khutba*. In the same way the learned men and elders of Ágra, supported by a large number of Musulmáns, raised a disturbance and forbade the reading of the *khutba* in the form directed Similar reports were sent by the news-writers of other cities. From Ahmadábád it was reported that a party of *Sunnis* with a crowd killed the *khatib*[1] of the chief mosque, who had read the word *wasi* in the *khutba*.

After the order for the insertion of the word *wasi* in the *khutba* reached Ahmadábád, the *Sadr* wrote to Fíroz Jang, the *Súbadár*, for official directions as to the course he was to pursue, and in reply received an autograph letter, directing him to act in obedience to the orders of the *Khalifa* (the Emperor). On the following Friday the *khatib* used the word *wasi* in the *khutba* Some men of the Panjáb and some notables of Túrán came noisily forward, and harshly addressing the *khatib*, said, "We excuse you this Friday for using the word, but next Friday you must not pronounce it" He replied that he would act in obedience to the orders of the Emperor, the *Nazim* (viceroy), and the *Sadr* On the following Friday, when the *khatib* ascended the pulpit, one of the Mughals said to him, "You must not use the word *wasi*" The doomed *khatib* would not be restrained; but the moment the word *wasi* fell from his tongue, a Panjábí rose, seized him by his skirt, dragged him from the top of the pulpit, and treated him with harsh scorn. A Túrání Mughal jumped up, drew his knife, stuck it into the stomach of the *khatib*, and threw him down under the pulpit. A general disturbance followed, and all the people started up. The *khatib*, half dead, was dragged out into the forecourt of the mosque, and there he received so many stabs from daggers and

[1] The *khatib* is the officiating minister who pronounces the *khutba*.

blows from slippers that he died ignominiously For a night and a day his heirs had not the courage to remove his corpse and bury it. On the second day the parents of the deceased petitioned Fíroz Jang for permission to inter him He gave them some rupees of Government money and his authority for the burial

Mahratta Attack on Burhánpúr

[Text, vol. ii p 666] A Mahratta woman named Tulasí Báí, with fifteen or sixteen thousand horse, came demanding payment of the *chauth* to the town of Ránwír, seven *kos* from Burhánpúr Having surrounded the *sarái* of Ránwír, in which a great number of travellers and villagers had taken refuge, she sent a message to Mír Ahmad Khán *Súbadár*, demanding payment of eleven *lacs* as *chauth* to save the town and the men who were besieged in the *sarái* Mír Ahmad, in his contempt for a female warrior, having got together a force of eight or nine thousand horse, part his own, and part obtained from the *faujdars* of the vicinity, and with all the officials of Burhánpúr, marched out of that place on the 9th Muharram. * *

The enemy having got intelligence of his approach, left three or four thousand men in charge of their baggage, and marched to meet Mír Ahmad Khán with four or five thousand veteran horse The remainder of the Mahratta force was sent to invest and plunder the suburbs of Burhánpúr Mír Ahmad Khán was severely wounded in the sharp encounters which he had with the enemy in the course of two or three days, but hearing of the investment of Burhánpúr, he turned to succour the besieged Wherever he went, the enemy hovered round him and kept up a continuous fight Zafar Khán was wounded fighting bravely, and finding that the enemy's force was increasing, he deemed it necessary for saving his life to take a son of Ahmad Khán with him, and go to the city. The men of his rear guard were nearly all killed, and his remaining men endeavoured to save their lives by flight. Many were made prisoners. Mír Ahmad Khán, who

was left alone fighting with the enemy, received several wounds, and fell from his horse; but he dragged himself half dead under a tree, and obtained martyrdom.

The Sikhs.

[vol ii p. 669.] The Emperor came near to Dehlí, and then sent Muhammad Amín Khán and * * * with a strong force against the Sikhs. His instructions were to destroy the *thánas* (military posts) established by the enemy, to re-establish the Imperial posts, and to restore the impoverished people of Sháhábád, Mustafa-ábád, Shádhúra, and other old seats of population, which had been plundered and occupied by the enemy Forgetful of former defeat, the enemy had resumed his predatory warfare, and was very daring. On the 10th Shawwál, 1121 (5th Dec., 1709), the royal army was four or five *kos* from Shádhúra, and a party was sent forward to select ground for the camp, when the enemy, with thirty or forty thousand horse and countless numbers of foot, shouting their cry of "*Fath daras*," attacked the royal army

I cannot describe the fight which followed The enemy in their *fakir* clothing struck terror into the royal troops, and matters were going hard with them, when a party of them dismounted from their elephants and horses, charged the enemy on foot, and put them to flight. The royal commander then went and took post in Shádhúra, with the intention of sending out forces to punish and drive off the enemy * * But rain fell for four or five days, and the weather became very cold. * * * Thousands of soldiers, especially the Dakhinís, who were unaccustomed to the cold of those parts, fell ill, and so many horses died that the stench arising from them became intolerable. The men attributed it to the witchcraft and sorcery of the enemy, and uttered words unfit to be spoken News also was brought in of the daring attacks made by the enemy on the convoys and detachments of the royal army, in which two or three *faujdárs*

of repute were killed Jumlatu-l Mulk Khán-khánán, with one son, and * *, were sent under the command of Prince Rafí'u-sh Shán to repress the enemy

After repeated battles, in which many men were killed on both sides, the infidels were defeated, and retreated to a fastness in the hills called Lohgarh, which is near the hills belonging to the Barfí Rája (Icy King),[1] and fortified themselves * The *Gurú* of the sect incited and encouraged his followers to action by assuring them that those who should fall fighting bravely on the field of battle would rise in a state of youth to an everlasting existence in a more exalted position * Continual fighting went on, and numbers fell. * * The provisions in their fortress now failed, and the infidels bought what they could from the grain-dealers with the royal army, and pulled it up with ropes. * * The infidels were in extremity, when one of them, a man of the *Khatri* tribe, and a tobacco-seller by trade, resolved to sacrifice his life for the good of his religion. He dressed himself in the fine garments of the *Gurú*, and went and seated himself in the *Gurú's* house. Then the *Gurú* went forth with his forces, broke through the royal lines, and made off to the mountains of the Barfí Rája

The royal troops entered the fort, and, finding the false *Gurú* sitting in state, they made him prisoner, and carried him to Khán-khánán Great was the rejoicing that followed; the men who took the news to the Emperor received presents, and great commendation was bestowed on Khán-khánán The prisoner was taken before Khán-khánán, and the truth was then discovered—the hawk had flown and an owl had been caught. Khán-khánán was greatly vexed. He severely reprimanded his officers, and ordered them all to dismount and march on foot into the hills of the Barfí Rája If they caught the *Gurú*, they were to take him prisoner alive; if they could not, they were to take the Barfí Rája and bring him to the presence. So the Rája was made prisoner and brought to the royal camp, instead

[1] "The Rája of Sirmor is so called"—*Khuldsatu-t Tawáríkh*

of the *Gurú.* Clever smiths were then ordered to make an iron cage. This cage became the lot of Barfí Rája and of that Sikh who so devotedly sacrificed himself for his *Gurú*; for they were placed in it, and were sent to the fort of Dehlí.

In this sect it is deemed a great sin to shave the hair of the head or beard. Many of the secret adherents of the sect belonging to the castes of Khatrí andJát were employed in service with the army, at the Court, and in public offices A proclamation was issued requiring Hindús in general to shave off their beards. A great many of them thus had to submit to what they considered the disgrace of being shaved, and for a few days the barbers were very busy. Some men of name and position committed suicide to save the honour of their beards.

Death of Mun'im Khan, Khán-khánán.

[Text, vol. ii p 674] Khán-khanán now fell ill Since the day he incurred the shame of allowing the real *Gurú* to escape, he pined with vexation, and he was attacked with a variety of diseases, which neither Greek nor European physicians could cure, and he died He was a man inclined to Súfí-ism, and was a friend to the poor. During all the time of his power he gave pain to no one * * * But the best intentions are often perverted into wrong deeds It entered the mind of Khán-khánán that he would build in every city a *sarái*, a mosque, or a monastery, to bear his name So he wrote to the *súbadárs* and *díwans* of different places about the purchase of ground and the building of *sarais*, mosques, and colleges. He gave strict injunctions and also sent bills for large sums of money When his order reached the place, all the officials had regard to his high dignity, and looking upon his order as a mandate from heaven, they directed their attention to the building of the *sarais* in their respective cities. In some places ground fit for the purpose was freely sold by the owners; but it happened in other places that although the officials were desirous

of buying suitable land, they could not obtain it with the consent of the owners. Considering only their own authority, and the necessity of satisfying Khán-khánán, the officials forcibly seized upon many houses which had been occupied by the owners and their ancestors for generations, and drove the proprietors out of their hereditary property. Numbers of Musulmáns, *Saiyids* and Hindús were thus driven, sighing and cursing, out of their old homes, as it happened at Burhánpúr and at Surat * *

Upon the death of Khán-khánán there were various opinions as to who should be appointed to his office of *wazír* and the *súbadari* of the Dakhin It was the desire of Prince 'Azímu-sh Shán, who had a leading part in the government of the country, and of Sa'du-llah Khán, the *díwán*, that Zú-l fikár Khán should be appointed *wazír*, and that the two sons of Khán-khánán should be respectively appointed *Bakhshiu-l Mulk* and *Súbadár* of the Dakhin But Zú-l fikár Khán was unwilling to retire from his position as *Bakhshí* of the Empire and *Súbadar* of the Dakhin for the sake of being made minister. He said, "When Your Majesty made Khán-khánán your minister, I could make no objection, but now, until my father has been raised to that dignity in the usual way, I cannot presume to accept the office" A long discussion followed. Prince 'Azímu-sh Shán said that Zú-l fikár wanted to have his father appointed minister, and to hold all the other offices himself The Emperor could not make up his mind to act in opposition to the wishes of any one. * * It was finally arranged that until the appointment of a permanent *wazír*, Sa'du-llah Khán, son of 'Ináyatu-llah Khán, *díwán* of the person and the *khálsa*, should be appointed to act as deputy, and to carry on affairs in communication with Prince Muhammad 'Azím.

Death of Ghâzíu-d dín Khán Fíroz Jang.

[Text, vol ii p 681] Intelligence now arrived of the death of Gházíu-d dín Khán Bahádur Fíroz Jang, *Súbadár* of Ahmad-

ábád, in Gujarát. It was also reported that Amánat Khán, *mutasaddi* of the port of Surat, on hearing of his death, and that he, in prospect of death, had ordered his troops and officers to be paid and discharged, hastened to Ahmadábád, and took charge of the treasure and stores Gházíu-d dín Khán was a man born to victory, and a disciplinarian who always prevailed over his enemy. A nobleman of such rank and power, and yet so gentle and pleasant spoken, has rarely been seen or heard of among the men of Túrán. It is said that the Government officials took nearly nine *lacs* of rupees out of his treasury * *

The Khutba

[Text, vol ii p 681] The insertion of the word *wasi* in the *khutba* had given great offence to the religious leaders[1] of Láhore, and the order for it had remained a dead letter. An order was now given that these religious men should be brought into the royal presence Hájí Yár Muhammad, Muhammad Murád Khán, and three or four other learned men of repute, waited upon His Majesty in the oratory They were told to be seated The Emperor, and some learned men whom he had to support him, brought forward proofs that the word *wasi* should be used * * After much disputation Hájí Yár Muhammad grew warm in replying to the Emperor, and spoke in a presumptuous, unseemly manner The Emperor got angry, and asked him if he was not afraid to speak in this bold and unmannerly way in the audience of a king. The Hájí replied, "I hope for four things from my bounteous Creator 1. Acquisition of knowledge 2. Preservation of the Word of God. 3 The Pilgrimage. 4. Martyrdom. Thanks be to God that of his bounty I enjoy the first three. Martyrdom remains, and I am hopeful that by the kindness of the just king I may obtain that." The disputation went on for several days. A great many of the

[1] The word used is *fuzalá*, meaning religious men learned in religious matters.

inhabitants of the city, in agreement with a party of Afghâns, formed a league of more than a hundred thousand persons, who secretly supported Hájí Yár Muhammad. Prince 'Azímu-sh Shán also secretly gave his countenance to this party. At the end of Shawwál, the *Sadr* presented a petition on the subject of the *khutba*, and on this His Majesty wrote with his own hand that the *khutba* should be read in the form used during the reign of Aurangzeb * * After this concession the agitation ceased, but I have heard that Hájí Yár Muhammad and two other learned men, whom the Emperor was angry with, were sent to one of the fortresses

Fifth Year of the Reign, 1122 A.H (1710 A D)

Death of Bahádur Sháh

[Text, vol ii p 683.] The festival of His Majesty's accession was celebrated as usual. * * * About the 20th Muharram, 1123[1] (Feb 18, 1711 A D), when the Emperor had passed his seventieth lunar year, there was a great change perceptible in him, and in twenty-four hours it was evident that he was marked for death. Prince 'Azímu-sh Shán, who had come to visit his father, when he heard that all the (other) three Princes had suddenly arrived, was so alarmed that he gave no thought to the condition of his father, but, not seeing how to secure himself, he thought it advisable to go away. On the night of the 8th of the month the Emperor died, and was buried near the tomb of Kutbu-d dín, four or five *kos* from Dehlí. He had reigned four years and two months. At the end of the four years the treasure of thirteen *lacs* of rupees, to which he succeeded, had all been given away. The income of the Empire during his reign was insufficient to meet the expenses, and consequently there was great parsimony shown in the Govern-

[1] The *Taskira-i Chaghatái* makes it 1124, and gives Bahádur Sháh a reign of six years The *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirín* agrees, see Briggs, p 29 But our author is consistent in his dates, and places the beginning of Farrukh Siyar's reign in 1123, see *post*, p 446

ment establishments, but especially in the royal household, so much so that money was received every day from the treasure of Prince 'Azímu-sh Shán to keep things going.

REIGN OF JAHÁNDÁR SHÁH, THIRTEENTH IN DESCENT FROM AMIR TÍMÚR SAHIB KIRAN.

[vol. ii. p. 685.] One week after the death of Bahádur Sháh was passed in amicable communications and correspondence between the four brothers (his sons) about the division of the kingdom and property. Zú-l fikár Khán, who really inclined to Jahándár Sháh, was the negociator among them. Some of the friends and associates of Jahán Sháh advised him to seize Zú-l fikár Khán when he came to wait upon him, and so to clip the wings of Jahándár Sháh. But Jahan Sháh had not the courage to take this step. An opportunity was found for firing the arsenal of Jahán Sháh, so that all his powder and rockets were exploded. The patrols of each of the four brothers were constantly moving about. While things were in this state, two or three camels loaded with property and stuffs, including perhaps also some bags of *ashrafis*, belonging to Prince 'Azímu-sh Shán, fell into the hands of the patrols of Jahán Sháh, and a contention arose about the division of them.[1]

It was settled that the Dakhin should fall to Jahán Sháh, Multán, Thatta, and Kashmír, to Rafí'u-sh Shán, and that 'Azímu-sh Shán and Jahándár Sháh should divide the remaining *súbas* of Hindústán between them. But the agreement about the division of the kingdom and treasure all turned into discord, and the partition of the realm was never effected. Mirzá Sadru-d dín Muhammad Khán Safawí *Bakhshí* deserted Prince 'Azímu-sh Shán, and joined the party of Prince Jahán Sháh; but the men of this Prince held the Mirzá in such suspicion and distrust, that by constant opposition they got him removed before the war began.

[1] Something seems to be wanting here. As it stands, the dispute about the camel-loads appears to have been settled by an agreement as to the division of the Empire.

Defeat and Death of 'Azimu-sh Shán.

[vol. ii. p 686] Prince Rafi'u-sh Shán having taken offence against Hakímu-l Mulk, son of Hakím Muhsin Khán, for some fault, extorted from him a sum of money and some jewels by torture and ignominious treatment Having then changed his post, he went near to the village of Budána, three or four *kos* from the city (of Láhore), and there took up a position against Prince 'Azímu-sh Shán He was protected by the river (on one side), and on the other two sides he ordered intrenchments to be thrown up 'Azímu-sh Shán held the other side of the river The three brothers agreed together in opposition to 'Azímu-sh Shán. All three, in accord with each other, mounted their horses, and for four or five days selected positions from which to fire guns and rockets upon the army of 'Azímu-sh Shán The artillery of 'Azímu-sh Shán replied to that of the three brothers, and many horses and men were killed About the 20th of Safar the sound of battle rose high on every side, and the fight was begun. * * 'Azímu-sh Shán, who was mounted on an elephant, disappeared Some said he had been killed by a cannon-ball others, that when he saw his enemies closing around him on all sides, and that there was no escape from the surging armies around him, he cast himself into the waves of the river, and no trace of him was afterwards found The ruffians of the neighbourhood and the soldiers of all the four princes fell upon Prince 'Azím's treasure, and the vast sums which he had extorted by tyranny and violence in and about the *súba* of Bengal were plundered in the twinkling of an eye, and dispersed into many hands. The three princes caused the drums of victory to be beaten, and then retired to their own dwellings.

Defeat and Death of Jahán Sháh

[vol ii. p. 687] Next day many messages passed between Jahándár Sháh and Jahán Sháh respecting an arrangement, but without result, and the course of affairs tended to the

shedding of each other's blood. A battle followed between the armies of the two brothers, and raged from the beginning of the day to the third watch. Farkhanda Akhtar, son of Jahán Sháh, and several *amirs* of reputation, were killed. On the side of Jahándár Sháh, also, some *amirs* and many men were killed At length Jahán Sháh, mounted on an elephant, made an impetuous charge upon the army of Jahándár, and bore all before him, and matters went so ill with Jahándár that he was parted from Lál Kunwar, his favourite charmer, and had to seek refuge among some stacks of bricks Jahán Sháh beat the drums of victory. The letters of the *Rajpút saráfs* carried the news of his victory to many parts, and the *khutba* was read with his name in several places. After the victory had been proclaimed, and the soldiers were dispersed in all directions hunting for Jahán Sháh, a cannon-ball directed by fate killed him, and his army fled Zú-l fikár Khán's men hearing of this, attacked the elephant of Jahán Sháh, and brought it with his corpse, and the corpse of his son Farkhanda, to Jahándár Sháh. Khujista Akhtar, another son of Jahán Sháh, with a younger brother, were brought prisoners to Jahándár Sháh, who then proclaimed his victory.

Death of Rafi'u-sh Shán

[vol ii. p 688] There remained Prince Rafi'u-sh Shán, with whom also Jahándár proposed friendly negociations about the division of the kingdom Having put the Prince off his guard, Jahándár sent a detachment of horse against him by night Rafi'u-sh Shán fought desperately He and his two sons threw themselves from their elephant, and fought bravely on foot, but he and several of his companions were killed Three of his sons remained alive, but were wounded, Muhammad Ibráhím, Rafi'u-d Daula, and Rafi'u-d Daraját.

Jahándár Sháh Emperor

[Text, vol. ii p. 688.] Jahándár, being thus freed from his three brothers, became the monarch of Hindústán He sent Muhammad Karím and Prince Humáyún Bakht, who were only nine or ten years old, the two sons of Jahán Shah, and the sons of Rafí'u-sh Shán, to the fort of Dehlí He ordered Rustam Dil Khán and Allah Wardí Khán, who had been guilty of open and secret actions against him, and Mukhlis Khán, whose offence was not manifest, to be subjected to various punishments and imprisoned. Mahábat Khán and * * other *amírs*, more than twenty in number, were ordered to be confined in chains, and some were put to the rack and other tortures Their houses also were seized * * Prince Muhammad Karím, after the death of 'Azímu-sh Shán, fled, and concealed himself in the house of one of the unfortunate men. He took off his ring and sent it for sale, and this led to his capture. He was brought before Jahándár, who was unwilling to kill him, but being persuaded by Zú-l fikár Khán and Shah Kudrat Allah Fakír (may the curse of God be on him!), he put him to death.

In the brief reign of Jahándár, violence and debauchery had full sway. It was a fine time for minstrels and singers and all the tribes of dancers and actors There seemed to be a likelihood that *kazís* would turn toss-pots, and *muftis* become tipplers All the brothers and relatives, close and distant, of Lál Kunwar, received *mansabs* of four or five thousand, presents of elephants, drums and jewels, and were raised to dignity in their tribe Worthy, talented, and learned men were driven away, and bold impudent wits and tellers of facetious anecdotes gathered round. Among the stories told is the following.

The brother of Lál Kunwar, Khushhál Khán, who had received a *mansab* of 5000 and 3000 horse, was named *Subadár* of Ágra. Zú-l fikár *Bakhshiu-l Mulk* purposely made a delay of several days in the preparation of the *farmán* and other deeds Lál Kunwar complained of this to Jahándár, and he asked Zú-l fikár

Khán what was the cause of the delay in the drawing out of the documents. Zú-l fikár Khán was very free-spoken to Jahándár, and he replied, "We courtiers have got into the bad habit of taking bribes, and we cannot do any business unless we get a bribe." Jahándár Sháh smiled, and asked what bribe he wanted from Lál Kunwar, and he said a thousand guitar-players and drawing masters (*ustád-i nakkáshí*). When the Emperor asked what he could want with them, he replied, "You give all the places and offices of us courtiers to these men, and so it has become necessary for us to learn their trade." Jahándár smiled, and the matter dropped.

Another story about him was spoken of in society, and has become notorious from city to city He used to go out sometimes in a cart with a mistress and some companions to enjoy himself in the markets and drinking shops One night he and his favourite went out in this way, and both drank so much that they became drunk and senseless. On arriving at the door of the palace, Lál Kunwar was so drunk that when she got out she took no notice whatever of the Emperor, but went to bed and slept heavily. The Emperor, who was perfectly helpless, remained fast asleep in the cart, and the driver drove home and put the cart away When the servants saw that the Emperor was not with Lál Kunwar, they were alarmed, and having roused her up, they inquired what had become of him. Lál Kunwar recovered sufficient sense to see that the Emperor was not by her side, and fell a-crying. People went running about in all directions till the Emperor was found in the cart.

Dáúd Khán, who was deputy of Zú-l fikár Khán in the *súbas* of the Dakhin, exercised such tyranny as is quite incapable of relation Sambhá Chand, who was called the *diwán* and manager of Zú-l fikár Khán, used such filthy obscene language that the breath of his foul mouth threw decent men into agony and disgust. Night and day was passed in devotion to the lusts of this vile world

Two or three months only had passed, when it became known

that Farrukh Siyar was at Patna preparing for war, and that he was strongly supported by the Saiyids of Bárha. In Rabí'u-s sání, Jahándár Sháh proceeded from Láhore to Dehlí. Kalích Khán, son of Ghází-u-d dín Khán Fíroz Jang, was a man of courage, action, and intelligence. His *mansab* had been taken from him by Bahádur Sháh, through heedlessness and want of appreciation of his merits, and he retired from Court in disgrace. He was now restored, and received a *mansab* of 5000 * *

Troops sent against Farrukh Siyar

[Text, vol ii p 697.] Information was continually brought to Jahándár Sháh of the proceedings of Farrukh Siyar and the Saiyids of Bárha He now sent against them his son A'azzu-d dín Khán, with 5000 horse, and he deputed with him Khwája Hasan Khán, to whom he gave the title of *Khán-dauran*, and under whom he placed the Prince and the army and all the artillery and military equipments. Zú-l fikár Khán was aware of the limited capacity, want of experience, imbecility and frivolity of the Prince He was also aware of the extraction, character, and evil disposition of Khwája Hasan Khán, who was one of the lowest men of the time He disapproved of sending him with the Prince, and of placing such extensive authority in his hands He mentioned this matter to the Emperor, but Miyán Kokaltásh Khán, father of Khwája Hasan, had long entertained inimical and jealous feelings towards Zú-l fikár Khán, and opposed everything that he proposed. The Emperor trusted Kokaltásh Khán Koka and Lál Kunwar more than any one else at his Court, and so he shut his eyes to what was passing Chín Kalích Khán, who had also been directed to accompany the Prince, was unable to do so for want of the means of transport, and was ordered to follow him

No sooner had Prince A'azzu-d dín passed the Jumna than great disorder arose in his army in consequence of jealousy and want of co-operation among the *sardárs*, and the irresolution of

the Prince. When Kalích Khán arrived at Ágra, he heard of the disordered state of the Prince's army in consequence of the want of union among the officers, and he advised a delay of a few days at Ágra to see what course events would take.

Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, supported by Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, Husain 'Alí Khán, and other experienced warriors, was marching onwards. Chhabíla Rám, *Faujdár* of Kora and Karra, with Asghar Khán, *Faujdar* of Itáwa, took the treasure of their districts, and went to join Prince (A'azzu-d dín); but when they got knowledge of the conduct and doings of Khán-daurán, the incapacity of the Prince, and the disorders in the army, they fell back and carried the treasure to Farrukh Siyar.

A'azzu-d dín arrived at the town of Khajwa, and there he obtained intelligence of the approach of Farrukh Siyar Although there was a distance of thirteen or fourteen *kos* between them, he was frightened Towards the end of Shawwál he halted at Khajwa,[1] and ordered intrenchments to be thrown up and lines to be drawn around his tents and his position When the banners of Farrukh Siyar's advanced force were seen at the distance of two *kos*, a great panic fell upon his whole army Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, who commanded Farrukh Siyar's advanced force, having seized upon the walls about the ruined villages, opened fire, and continued his cannonade from the third watch of the day to the third watch of the night

A'azzu-d dín had long been angry with his father in consequence of the harsh treatment he had received from Lál Kunwar; and on the 29th Shawwál he was much dispirited, as he received no support and guidance from Khán-daurán, who showed more pusillanimity than ever The terror of Khán-daurán was visible in his face, and the Prince consulted with him about running away. Both of them were so alarmed that they packed up what they could of their jewels, treasure and *ashrafis* to carry with them The rest of their money, their

[1] Briggs, in his translation of the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirín*, calls the place "Kuchbehary"

tents, their wardrobes, and all their military implements, they left to plunderers. At a watch before day these two dignified chiefs, with some trusted companions, took horse and fled. Such a panic fell upon the whole army that the men lost all heart and self-command. Some of them did not wait to put saddles on their horses, or to collect their necessaries, but vied with each other in running away to save their lives. Messengers carried the news of their flight to the camp of Farrukh Siyar. Congratulations passed from tent to tent, and the sounds of rejoicing rose high The ruffians of the *bázár* and the soldiers, more hungry than hawks on a hunting day started off to plunder, and they seized upon money, horses, elephants, and whatever came under their hands

When Prince A'azzu-d dín arrived at Ágra, Chín Kalích Khán advised him to go no farther, and kept him there On the 18th of the month Jumáda-l awwal Jahándár Sháh entered Dehlí He was looking for news of victory from his son, and when he received the intelligence of his defeat he exerted the sense and judgment which the plunderers of the army of Venus had left him in making preparations for war About the middle of Zí-l ka'da he left Dehlí The forces under the command of Zú-l fikár Khán Nusrat Jang did not exceed 20,000 horse. Twenty-five thousand horse under Kokaltásh Khán came to the muster. Altogether the army contained about seventy or eighty thousand horse, and nearly a hundred thousand infantry. With this force he marched against Farrukh Siyar, and reached Samúgarh near Ágra Farrukh Siyar's army did not number one-third of that of Jahándár Sháh, which was advancing with difficulty.

When Farrukh Siyar drew near to Ágra, and his forces were compared with Jahándár's, most men anticipated a victory for the latter But the Emperor's partiality for low women, his liking for low company, and his patronage of base-born nameless men, had disgusted all the nobles of Írán and Túrán. They spoke with discontent, and uttered ominous words about the defeat of

Jahándár Sháh. The victory of Farrukh Siyar became the hope of every man in the army, great and small. Kalích Khán Bahádur and Muhammad Amín Khán, both of them leaders of the men of Túrán, had come to an understanding with Farrukh Siyar, and endeavoured to bring on a battle. Zú-l fikár Khán and Kokaltásh Khán considered themselves loyal and devoted servants; but their envy and hatred of each other appeared in all their acts, and everything that one did was opposed by the other. * *

On the 16th Zí-l hijja the armies confronted each other, and the battle began by Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán attacking Jahándár's army. * * The repulse of the Saiyids of Bárha drew shouts of victory from Jahándár's army. But Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán came up and attacked the centre, in which Jahándár was present. * * Fright seized the elephants of the *zanána* The elephants which carried Lál Kunwar and the singers and eunuchs were worried by the arrows; they began to dance and became violent. Some of Jahándár's companions also were overcome with fright, and thought of fleeing. Just at this time Jahándár Sháh's elephant became unmanageable, and his driver lost all control over him The fierce attack of the Bárha Saiyids threw Jahándár's army into confusion, and he now heard of the death of Kokaltásh Khán and * * He was so disheartened that he mounted the elephant of Lál Kunwar, and, towards the end of the day, moved off, with the intention of flying to Ágra.

Zú-l fikár Khán was informed of these facts, but although the day was going hard with him, he struggled on until one watch of the night, waiting to be assured of the truth about Jahándár Sháh and Prince A'azzu-d dín, for he said, "If they find A'azzu-d dín, let them bring him forward quickly, for with his support I can repulse the enemy" No trace of him was to be found Zú-l fikár Khán had not the heart to persevere, although he might with a little exertion have made Farrukh Siyar prisoner, for the Prince was in front of him, protected by only a small force. According to common report, Jahándár Sháh shaved off his beard, and riding

behind Lál Kunwar, took the road to Dehlí. Zú-l fikár Khán having lost all hope, repaired to his father at Dehlí, and he and Jahándár Sháh reached that city within one watch of each other Jahándár Sháh proceeded alone to the house of Ásafu-d daula Asad Khán, to seek his counsel and assistance. Zú-l fikár Khán reached his father's house soon after, and said that if Jahándár Sháh was sent off to the Dakhin or Kábul, another army might be raised, and something might be done to retrieve the position. Ásafu-d daula, however, perceived that the matter was beyond remedy, that Jahándár Sháh was not fit to reign, and that money for one month's expenditure would be difficult to raise; so he thought the best course was to send Jahándár to the fort, and keep him under restraint * * The reign of Jahándár Sháh had reached only eleven months when he met his death from the hands of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar

Reign of Sultan Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, Son of 'Azimu-sh Shan, Son of Bahádur Shah, Fourteenth in Descent from Amir Timur.

[vol ii p. 707.] When Prince 'Azímu-sh Shán, eldest son of Bahádur Sháh, left the *súba* of Bengal, to proceed to the Dakhin, in obedience to the summons of the Emperor Aurangzeb, he placed his middle son, Farrukh Siyar, as his deputy in the *súba* of Bengal, * * and Farrukh Siyar remained acting as deputy of his father in Bengal until Bahádur Sháh returned from the Dakhin to Láhore In the year 1122 A H (1710 A D), in the fifth year of the reign, the *súba* of Bengal was taken from Farrukh Siyar, and given to A'azzu-d daula Khán-khánán Farrukh Siyar was recalled to Court, and starting on his journey, he got as far as 'Azímábád, *i e.* Patna. For personal appearance, and for intelligence, he was not held in the same esteem by his father as his elder brother, Muhammad Karím, or his younger brother, Muhammad Humáyún Bakht So his coming to Court was disagreeable to his father. On reaching Patna, Farrukh

Siyar, alleging a want of money and the approach of the rainy season, made a stay in the environs of that city. * *

When Farrukh Siyar received intelligence of the death of Bahádur Sháh, he caused the *khutba* to be read and coins to be struck in the name of 'Azímu-sh Shán. * *

Husain 'Alí Khán Bárha was acting as deputy of 'Azímu-sh Shán in the *súbadárí* of Patna, but at this time he had gone out into the country to punish some robbers. When he heard that the name of 'Azímu-sh Shán had been placed in the *khutba* and on the coins, before the defeat of his three brothers had been ascertained, he felt very sorry for and suspicious of Farrukh Siyar. The Prince, on his side, had observed the high courage of the Bárha Saiyids, and the sway of Husain 'Alí Khán in that *súba* had deeply impressed him. He addressed kind and friendly letters to Husain, inviting him to his side The mother of Farrukh Siyar also interceded with Husain 'Alí, and promises and engagements having been made, doubt and suspicion were changed into brotherly concord.

The intelligence of the death of 'Azímu-sh Shán, and of the victory of Jahándár Sháh reached Patna. Thereupon Farrukh Siyar, in the beginning of Rabí'u-l awwal, 1123 A H., struck coins, and had the *khutba* read in his name, and day by day he entered into closer relations with Husain 'Alí. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, otherwise known as Hasan 'Alí Khán, was *Subadar* of Alláhábád, and during these troubles about the succession the treasure of Bengal had come into his possession He was considered a man of courage and judgment. Some intimations of his suspicion and mistrust, and of his want of obedience to the profligate Jahándár, reached Farrukh Siyar. So the Prince wrote him re-assuring letters, informing him of the compact he had made with his brother Husain 'Alí. He also gave him permission to retain the treasure and to enlist troops. Husain 'Alí also wrote what was necessary on the subject, and removed all doubt from his mind. After that the two brothers, who were chiefs of the brave Bárha Saiyids, worked heart and soul to assist Farrukh Siyar. New

engagements were openly and secretly exchanged, and they set about making preparations for the great emprise, with hearts full of hope and in union with each other.

March of Farrukh Siyar from Patna.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 715.] Farrukh Siyar marched from Patna towards Dehlí with his two faithful generals, also with Saf-shikan Khán, who held the deputy súbadárship of Orissa, and * * other devoted followers, amounting in all to twenty-five thousand horse. He was in difficulty as to money. Out of the royal treasure, and of the treasure arising from the *jágír* of 'Azímu-sh Shán that was sent from Bengal that year, nearly twenty-eight *lacs* fell into the hands of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán. About seventy-five *lacs* came into the possession of Farrukh Siyar, and he borrowed two or three *lacs* from the merchants of Patna. Of all the treasure that fell into the hands of Sarbuland Khán, *Faujdar* of Karra, he kept some *lacs*, and the remainder he carried, with the help of hired carriers, to Jahándár Sháh. On arriving with it, Jahándár was pleased with him, and made him *Súbadar* of Ahmadábád in Gujarát. [*Victory over Jahándár.*]

[Text, vol. ii. p. 724.] After the victory of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar had been loudly proclaimed, the men of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán began to search among the dead for Husain 'Alí Khán. They found him lying senseless, and he had been stripped naked by plunderers; but the moment the good news of the victory of Farrukh Siyar fell upon the ears of the wounded man, new life came into his body, and he got up and went to his brother Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán.

Jahándár Sháh remained a night in Ágra. He and Zú-l fikár Khán arrived at Dehlí within a watch of each other.[1] * * Ásafu-d daula saw that Jahándár's[2] course was run, and sent him to the fort, to be kept in custody. He said to his son Zú-l fikár, who opposed this violent course, "It is our duty to

[1] See *suprà*, p. 438. [2] He is now called Mu'izzu-d dín.

render obedience to whomsoever of the House of Tímúr the sovereign power devolves; so, as Jahándár Sháh has been removed, we must betake ourselves to the other." The counsel of Ásafu-d daula in restraining his son was * * wise and appropriate; but he did not know that it would result in the loss of his son's life and of the honour of his house.

Personal to the Author.

[vol. ii p 726.] I have already said in my Preface, that it is the duty of an historian to be faithful, to have no hope of profit, no fear of injury, to show no partiality on one side, or animosity on the other, to know no difference between friend and stranger, and to write nothing but with sincerity But in these changeful and wonderful times of Farrukh Siyar Bádsháh, * * men have shown a partiality or an animosity to one side or the other exceeding all bounds. They have looked to their own profit and loss, and turned the reins of their imagination accordingly The virtues of one side they have turned into faults, while they have shut their eyes to the faults of the other—passing all the bounds of moderation. The writer of these leaves, who, following his own inclination, has wasted his days in authorship, has not been partial either to friends or strangers, and has flattered neither nobles nor *wazirs* in the hope of reward. What he himself saw, what he heard from the tongues of men who from time to time were the associates of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, and from the Saiyids who were his companions at the banquet table and in battle, that he has honestly committed to writing, after endeavouring to arrive at the truth when statements varied But as notes of various occurrences and transactions did not reach the author, and as, through distress and the unfriendliness of fortune, he was unable to procure paper for his rough drafts, and as discrepancies in the various statements became greater, if it should appear that in any place the author differs in any particulars from

other histories and writers, who themselves may not be free from partiality, and as variations will appear in the most trustworthy histories, he begs that his stories being excused, they may not be made a target for the arrows of censure, but that the pen of kindness may be drawn over his hasty statements.

Appointment of Ministers

[vol. ii p 727] After the victory * * Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, Lutfu-llah Khán Sádik, and other *amírs* were sent to arrange matters at Dehlí. Farrukh Siyar, after a week's rest, started for that city, and encamped in the environs on the 11th Muharram, 1124 A H (Feb 9th, 1712 A D) Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán received the title of *Kutbu-l Mulk* and *Yár-i wafádár Zafar Jang*, with other favours, and a *mansab* of 7000 and 7000 horse, *do-aspas* and *sih-aspas*. Husain 'Alí Khán received the title of *Amíru-l umará Fíroz Jang*, with a *mansab* of 7000 and 7000 horse He also received other honours, and was appointed to the office of *Mír-Bakhshí* Muhammad Amín Khán was entitled *I'timádu-d daula*, his *mansab* was increased 1000, and he was appointed second *Bakhshí* Kalích Khán's *mansab* was augmented from 5000 to 7000 and 7000 horse, he received the title of *Nizámu-l Mulk Bahádur Fath Jang*, and was appointed *Súbadár* of the Dakhin[1] [*Many other promotions and appointments*]

[Text, vol ii. p. 730] Farrukh Siyar had no will of his own. He was young, inexperienced in business, and inattentive to affairs of State He had grown up in Bengal, far away from his grandfather and father. He was entirely dependent on the opinions of others, for he had no resolution or discretion. By the help of fortune he had seized the crown The timidity of his character contrasted with the vigour of the race of Tímúr, and he was not cautious in listening to the words of artful men.

[1] This was the origin of the Nizáms of Haidarábád.

From the beginning of his reign he himself brought his troubles on himself. One great fault he committed at the outset of his reign, in appointing Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, a Saiyid of Bárha, to the office of *wazír*, which is such a high and important trust that former kings always bestowed it upon wise, great and high-minded men, remarkable for patience, experience, clemency and affability, whose qualities had been tested by long experience * * [*The various appointments*] sowed the seed of enmity in the hearts of both parties, and the watering it received from malicious calumnious people brought it to maturity

Mír Jumla[1] had risen into the King's favour He was a friendly, generous, and upright man *(diyánat)*, from whom many received kindnesses, but he was unwilling that the reins of the government of Hindústán should pass into the hands of the Bárha Saiyids. When he saw that the sovereign power was entirely under the control of the two brothers, he could not suppress his envy and rivalry By lauding the interest and sympathy shown to the Emperor by his new associates, he gained his point, and stirred up dissensions between him and the Bárha Saiyids According to common report, it was he who was the prime mover in recommending the destruction of the old hereditary nobles, and also of overthrowing the family of Ásafu-d daula The two brothers were not inclined to bear patiently Mír Jumla's invidious and provoking interference in their affairs, and every day they overstepped the bounds of subordination and duty It has been commonly reported that the Saiyids prompted and shared in the execution of Zú-l fikár Khán Nusrat Jang, but I will now relate what I have ascertained from sure sources

Murders, and other Punishments.

Ásafu-d daula and Zú-l fikár Khán came with their hearts full of doubt and apprehension to wait upon the Emperor. *Amíru-l*

[1] "His original name was 'Abdu-llah He received the title of Mír Jumla directly after Farrukh Siyar's accession "—*Tazkira-i Chaghatái*

umará Husain 'Alí Khán, having been informed of the consultation and desires of Mír Jumla and the Emperor, sent a message to Ásafu-d daula, promising him that, if he would wait upon the Emperor under his (Husain Khán's) introduction, not a hair of his head should be injured. Some other nobles, when they heard of this advice, disapproved of it, and sent Takarrub Khán, who was a man of Írán, and chosen for being a compatriot, to Zú-l fikár Khán, to console him, and to assure him, after taking the most sacred oaths, that his introduction to the Emperor by Husain 'Alí Khán would be productive of nothing but repentance and danger to his life and property. * * Mír Jumla having brought Ásafu-d daula and Zú-l fikár Khán, fastened the hands of the latter to his turban, and thus presented them Ásafu-d daula spoke two or three words, expressing sorrow for his offences and hope of pardon Farrukh Siyar spoke with apparent kindness, ordered (Zú-l fikár Khán's) hands to be released, and made presents of robes and jewels. He then told Ásafu-d daula to return home, and said that there was some business about which he wanted to consult with Zú-l fikár Khán, and that Zú-l fikár Khán should sit down in an outer tent

The father saw that his son was doomed, and with a swelling heart and tearful eyes he repaired to his tent Zú-l fikár Khán washed his hands of life, and having prepared himself for death, he went to the place appointed He was surrounded by *amírs* and their men *(chelas)* First, with bitter words, they demanded of him the blood of 'Azímu-sh Shán and Muhammad Karím, and he replied to them with rough and sharp answers Thereupon Láchín Beg, entitled Bahádur Dil Khán, and according to common report, one of the *chelas*, came behind Zú-l fikár Khán, threw a thong *(tasma)*[1] round his neck unawares, and pulled it tight The *chelas* surrounded him on all sides; they struck him with sticks and their fists and kicked him, others used their knives and daggers, and never ceased till they had despatched him.

[1] The Turkish bowstring

On the same day the order was given that men should go into the fort, to the *tirpauliya*, a small and dark room in which Jahándár Sháh was confined, and despatch him also with the thong. Muhammad Farrukh Siyar entered the city and fort on the 17th Muharram (15th Feb. 1712 A D), and gave orders that, in retaliation for violent acts against his brothers and the *amirs*, his head should be stuck upon a spear, and carried round the city on an elephant, with the carcase lying in the *howda*. The corpse of Zú-l fikár was ordered to be hung head downwards from the tail of the elephant After thus being paraded before the people, the bodies were to be brought into the city and thrown down at the gate of the fort

Directions were also given that Ásafu-d daula should be placed in a palankin and conducted along with his *sanána*—and carrying only the clothes and appurtenances which he and his attendants stood upright in—to the house of Khán-Jahán, there to be kept in confinement and under guard. An order of confiscation was also made against the household effects of father and son, and the effects of Kokaltásh Khán, Rája Sabhá Chand, and some others connected with Jahándár Sháh, who had incurred the anger of the Emperor and of Heaven. Rája Sabhá Chand abused the officials, and so an order was given for cutting out his tongue [*More executions*]

In common conversation the title of Láchín Beg was changed into the nickname *Tasma-kash* (thong-puller). As men were subjected to this punishment of the thong without ascertainment or proof of offence, such a terror of it seized the hearts of the nobles of the reign of Aurangzeb and Bahádur Sháh, that when any one left his home to attend upon the Emperor, he took farewell of his sons and family. Matters went to such a length that actors and mountebanks got a living by exhibiting the newly-invented punishment of the thong. * * Hakím Salím had been one of the personal attendants upon 'Azímu-sh Shán, and it was said that the Prince was killed at his suggestion Mír Jumla invited the *hakim* to his house, and treated him sumptuously at

night; but before morning men were sent to his door, and they strangled him. The deaths of several victims were attributed by evil report to Mír Jumla.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 737.] *An order was made* that the reign of Jahándár Sháh should be considered as an adverse possession, and that the reign of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar should date from the 1st Rabí'u-l awwal, 1123 A H. (April 8, 1711 A D).

After Nizámu-l Mulk Bahádur Fath Jang arrived in the Dakhin, the might of his hereditary sword and his own sound judgment brought about, as they had done before, a great abatement of the ravages perpetrated by the Mahrattas upon the country and upon caravans, without his having to resort to war with the vile foe But wherever Nusrat Jang and Dáúd Khán went, the Mahrattas made their incursions, and levied the *chauth*

SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN (1124 A H, 1712 A D.)

[vol. ii p 737.] After the death of Aurangzeb, Rája Ajít Singh of Jodhpúr showed his unworthy character by rebuilding the temples and destroying the mosques in his territory When Bahádur Sháh had fought against and overcome Muhammad A'zam Sháh, he formed the design of chastising the Rája, and of ravaging his country and the territories of other impious *Rájpúts.* But events would not allow him to prosecute his intention, and he had to march to the Dakhin against his younger brother Muhammad Kám Bakhsh In the reign of Bahádur Sháh also Ajít Singh and other vicious *Rájpúts* were guilty of many improper acts Bahádur Sháh, on returning from the Dakhin, again resolved to lead an army to chastise this perverse tribe. The revolt of the Sikhs and the troubles they caused obliged him to abandon the enterprise, and to march against the Sikh revolters. Upon the accession of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, the *Rájpúts* did not show proper allegiance, and therefore *Amíru-l umará* Husain 'Alí Khán and the Emperor's maternal uncle, Sháyista

Khán, were sent against them, with other *amirs* and a suitable army.

Rája Ajít Singh, upon learning of the march of this army, was alarmed at its strength and at the prowess of the Saiyids. He sent his property and family into the hills and strong places, and, having cleared his country, he sent envoys to *Amíru-l umará* with presents, suing for peace and forgiveness of his offences. Just at this time several letters arrived from Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, informing his brother of the intrigues and malice of their rivals at Court, and urging him to return. *Amíru-l umará* Husain 'Alí consequently concluded a peace with Ajít Singh, the Rája agreeing to pay tribute, to send his daughter for Farrukh Siyar, and his son to pay homage. Having made this settlement, *Amíru-l umará* left Sháyista Khán, the King's uncle, to bring the girl, while he went on to Court

'Abdu-llah Khán and Husain 'Alí Khán desired that no *mansabs* or promotions or appointments to office should be made without consulting them The Emperor had given Mír Jumla authority to sign his name, and repeatedly said, "The word of Mír Jumla and the signature of Mír Jumla are my word and my signature." *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah had given to his *díwan*, a grain-dealer named Ratan Chand, the title of Rája, and a *mansab* of two thousand, and he had reposed in him authority in all government and ministerial matters This man attended to nobody's business without some underhand arrangement for the benefit of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán and himself. When an aspirant resorted to Mír Jumla for a *mansab*, for promotion, or for an appointment to office, he, acting uprightly as the deputy of the Emperor, wrote his signature and satisfied the applicant This practice was contrary to all the rules of the *wazír's* office; it weakened the authority of the Saiyids, and was the cause of great annoyance to the two brothers. Mír Jumla also often exhibited his own devotion to the Emperor by complaining of and blaming the Saiyids, and he persuaded him by

various proofs that such high offices and ministerial authority were above the abilities of the Saiyids of Bárha By various unworthy artifices he brought forward evidence of their disloyalty, and by malicious statements made in private, he succeeded in turning the heart of Farrukh Siyar against the two brothers He repeatedly urged the Emperor to make Husain 'Alí and 'Abdu-llah Khán prisoners They went out on a hunting excursion to the garden of Muhsin Khán, and by various representations, he tried to stir the Emperor up to take the bold step (of seizing them), but he did not succeed Report says that Farrukh Siyar's mother, remembering the promise and agreement he had made with the two brothers, gave information of this secret intrigue to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán

Another work which the common talk of all classes attributed to the influence of Mír Jumla, and in which it is probable the Saiyids of Bárha had no part, was the blinding of the Princes A'azzu-d dín, son of Jahándár Sháh, after the flight of his father from the field of battle, hid himself in Ágra, but he was discovered and taken Muhammad Humáyún Bakht, younger brother of Farrukh Siyar, was only ten or eleven years old. Wálá-tabár was son of Muhammad A'zam Sháh. All these were deprived of sight In retribution of this (cruelty), Farrukh Siyar's son, a child of two years old, was suddenly taken from him by death.

At this time *Amíru-l umará* Husain 'Alí preferred a claim to the *Súbadárí* of the Dakhin, with the intention of adopting Zú-l fikár Khán's practice of discharging the duties of the office by deputy His plan was to appoint Dáud Khán as his deputy, to agree with him on a total sum to be paid annually, while he himself would remain at Court But the Emperor, in consultation with Mír Jumla, desired that Husain 'Alí should go in person to the Dakhin. It was necessary to accept or reject the conditions, and *Amíru-l umará* Husain 'Alí, after considering the course pursued by the King and Mír Jumla, refused to go to the Dakhin and leave his brother (alone at Court). A strong altercation

arose, and matters went so far that both brothers refrained from going to Court and waiting upon the Emperor; they even meditated the levying of soldiers and throwing up lines of defence round their residence.

The Emperor called together for private consultation his well-affected nobles, who had taken part in his councils with Mír Jumla, Khán-daurán and Muhammad Amín Khán, and every day he brought forward a new proposition. Reports of these dissensions and of the dearness of grain caused uneasiness and disturbances in the cities far and near After a great deal of correspondence, and the mediation of the mother of the Emperor, who went to see *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah at his house, and satisfied him, it was agreed that the Saiyids should make their own arrangements in the fort, and that both brothers should then attend the *darbar*. Accordingly the men of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah and of Husain 'Alí were posted in various places under their direction, the brothers then went to wait upon the Emperor, to ask pardon for their offences They complained of the Emperor's change of feeling, and, taking off their swords, they laid them before him, and said, "If, through the words of detractors, suspicion of us has found its way into your gracious mind, order that we should be put to death upon the spot, or deprive us of our *mansabs* and send us to the holy temple But to let the suggestions of calumniators and the words of mischief-making designing men operate to the insult and to the injury of the life and property of faithful servants, is far from being the practice of just-minded kings."

To put away strife, and lay the foundations of peace, it was settled that Mír Jumla should depart to the *súba* of 'Azímábád (Patna) before *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Alí started for the Dakhin. So with all despatch Mír Jumla was presented with his robe, and was sent off to Patna. *Amiru-l umará* further stated to the Emperor, "If in my absence you recall Mír Jumla to your presence, or if my brother, *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, again receives similar treatment, you may rely upon my being here

from the Dakhin in the course of twenty days" He made another stipulation that the removal from and appointment to all *jágirs* and offices, and the change of commandants of forts, should be under his control The Emperor was in such a difficult position that he deemed it advisable to comply. Moreover, according to common report, he *nolens volens* delivered over with his own hand to *Amiru-l umará* his signet ring, so that the *farmáns* appointing commandants of forts should not require the royal assent. For four or five months after the departure of *Amiru-l umará* there was a cessation of these exciting scenes

Nizámu-l Mulk

[Text, vol. ii p 742] Nizámu-l Mulk Bahádur Fath Jang, after receiving his appointment as *Súbadár* of the Dakhin, went to *Khujista-bunyád* (Aurangábád) It has already been stated that the fame of the sword of this renowned noble put a stop to the ravaging of the country and the plundering of the caravans, which the forces of the Mahrattas practised every year, without his having to fight with either the army of Rája Sáhú or Tárá Báí. But as the hands of the Mahrattas stretched everywhere, their agents appeared in all places according to usage to collect the *chauth*, that is to say, the fourth part of the land revenue of every district, which they levied every year. Nizámu-l Mulk's pride was too great to submit to this, and he was desirous of preventing the collection of *chauth*, and especially in the neighbourhood of Aurangábád. He wrote orders to the *faujdárs* and *sila'dárs*, directing them to oust the *kamáish-dárs* of Rája Sáhú from several places dependent upon Aurangábád

After the *'I'd-i fitr*, in the second year of the reign, he went out with five or six thousand horse and a strong force of artillery to settle the country, and repel any attempt of the enemy's army * * None of the Mahratta chiefs had the courage to face him, but fled at his approach; so, after satisfying himself as to the state of the country, and chastising some rebels, he

returned to Aurangábád, where he arrived at the beginning of Zí-l hijja. After his return, the Mahrattas summoned up courage enough to begin plundering the caravans in remote districts. There was a caravan proceeding from Surat and Ahmadábád to Aurangábád, and Muhammad Ibráhím Khán Tabrízí, *Bakhshi* and *Wáki'-nigár* of Baglána, who with a party was travelling along with that caravan, was killed In Rajab of the second year of the reign, 1125 (July, 1713), the enemy assembled twenty-three *kos* from Aurangábád, at a fort called Panáh-garhí, which they had built, as in other *súbas*, as a place of refuge for themselves in their retreats. [*Defeat of the Mahrattas, and destruction of the forts by Nizámu-l Mulk's lieutenants.*]

Husain 'Alí Khán in the Dakhin.

[Text, vol ii p 750] Intelligence arrived [*in the Dakhin*] of the appointment of *Amíru-l umara* Husain 'Alí Khán to the *Súbadarí* of the Dakhin, and of the despatch of a *sanad* appointing Najábat Khán *Súbadár* of Burhánpúr for civil affairs, and Haidar Kulí Khán his *díwán* for revenue matters. Nizámu-l Mulk accordingly left Aurangábád at the beginning of Safar, with the intention of proceeding to Court, and got as far as Burhánpúr. There he found that two or three Mahratta leaders with a large force were making threatening demonstrations, so he took horse, and went forth to attack them * * The Mahrattas were unable to make any resistance, and after chastising and pursuing them for forty *kos*, he returned to Burhánpúr, and resumed his journey to Court

Towards the end of Jumáda-l awwal, Husain 'Alí Khán, who was on his journey from the capital, and Nizámu-l Mulk, passed within one or two *kos* of each other Although Husain 'Alí Khán wished very much to meet Nizámu-l Mulk, out of consideration for the feelings of the Emperor he passed on When *Amíru-l umará* Husain 'Alí arrived at the ford of Akbarpúr on

the Nerbadda, he there heard that Dáúd Khán Paní, *Súbadár* of Ahmadábád, having, in pursuance of orders, become *Súbadár* of Khándesh, had come to Burhánpúr. Husain 'Alí Khán also heard the common report that secret orders had reached Dáúd Khán, directing him neither to meet nor obey Husain 'Alí, but rather to do his best in resisting him, and hopes were held out of his being appointed *Subadár* of the whole Dakhin. So Dáúd Khán had set his heart upon winning the *Súbadárí*, and had no intention of waiting upon Husain 'Alí Khán.

Amíru-l umará, upon hearing these matters, sent a message to Dáúd Khán to the effect "The whole *Súbadárí* of the Dakhin has been confided to me, therefore you must not overstep the bounds of subordination, but must hasten to meet me. Otherwise you must proceed to the Emperor, so that there may be no disturbance and shedding of the blood of Musulmáns." Dáúd Khán was unwilling to assent to either proposition, and although he very unwillingly came, he encamped outside the city; and he refrained from making his submission to *Amíru-l umará* Husain 'Alí, because he had very close relations with the Mahratta chiefs. Nímá Sindhiá, who was the most important of all the servants of the State, having heard a report of Dáúd Khán's going to Husain 'Alí and giving him his support, had come with several other chiefs and encamped near Burhánpúr, so that at the proper time he might join the stronger party. The dispute *(guftgu)* between *Amíru-l umará* and Dáúd Khán daily grew longer, and at length, in the beginning of Ramazán, it came to the test of battle *Amíru-l umará* had 15,000 horse with him, and with these he went forth to battle Dáúd Khán had not more than three or four thousand Afghán horse on that day, but he placed Híráman Baksariya, who was always his chief swordsman, in command of his advanced force, and came to the field of battle in the plain of the Lál Bágh of Burhánpúr. * * A desperate fight followed. * * Dáúd Khán had resolved to have a personal combat with Husain 'Alí Khán He went into the field fully accoutred, and he directed his elephant-driver to place his elephant

by the side of that ridden by Husain 'Alí. * * Although few men remained with Dáúd Khán, he fought most vigorously against Husain 'Alí. With the two or three hundred devoted Afghán horse which remained with him, he pressed forward, discharging arrows, to encounter Husain 'Alí. Great disorder and panic spread in the *Amíru-l umará's* force, and [*many of his nobles*] were killed and wounded

Mír Mushrif, who was renowned for his bravery and personal strength, went out to battle clad in armour. Seated in a splendid *howda*, and drawing his bowstring to his ear, he urged his elephant on against that of Dáúd Khán. As Dáúd Khán had come into the field without armour, he cried out to Mír Mushrif, "Why do you cover up your face like a woman? Put off your armour that I may see your person!" Saying this he discharged an arrow at him, which wounded him in the throat Mír Mushrif pulled out the arrow with great pain, and fell fainting in his *howda*. According to the statements of several elephant-drivers, Dáúd Khán then tried to fasten the two elephants together, and, in so doing, struck Mír Mushrif three or four blows on the back and side with the elephant-goad. Mír Mushrif's driver managed to get his elephant away from that of Dáúd Khán, but *Amíru-l umará's* men, who had seen the blows, thought Mír Mushrif was killed; so great alarm spread through their ranks, and a total rout seemed about to fall upon the army. Some indeed withdrew from the fight, leaving their leaders still holding their ground and fighting bravely. At this critical moment a musket-ball struck Dáúd Khán and killed him. The elephant-driver and Dáúd's companions, who had escaped the sword, finding that he was dead, turned away the elephant from the field The bloody elephant was brought back, and the corpse of Dáúd was taken out and tied to its tail, and in that state it was brought to the city.

Nímá Sindhiá and the other Mahratta chiefs who had joined *Amíru-l umará* looked on the battle from a distance with an eye to plundering the vanquished party. In the height of the battle

they withdrew, and prepared to flee; but they came to offer their congratulations to *Amíru-l umará* on his victory. Their men fell to plundering the baggage and property of Dáúd Khán's army; but all the treasure, elephants, horses, and warlike stores fell into the hands of *Amíru-l umara*. Out of all this he sent some elephants to the Emperor after the lapse of two years.

Dáúd Khán was said to be impotent, but when he was *Súbadár* of Ahmadábád, a daughter of one of the *zamíndárs* was brought, and, according to the custom of the country, was presented to the ruler as tribute He converted her to Islám, and married her. She became pregnant by him, and when he went forth to battle, she was seven months gone with child. On his departure, she, in her pride, took the dagger from his belt, and kept it carefully by her When she heard of his death, she ripped open her belly, brought forth the child alive, and then departed with her husband to the next world But this story has not been authenticated.

When the result of the battle and the death of Dáúd Khán was reported to Farrukh Siyar, his countenance seemed clouded with sorrow, and he said to *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah that it was a pity such a renowned and noble chief had been killed *Kutbu-l Mulk* replied, "If my brother had been slain by the hands of the Afghán, it would have given Your Majesty satisfaction"

Third Year of the Reign (1125 A.H., 1713 A.D.).

Religious Disturbances

[vol ii p 755] After Dáúd Paní became *Súbadár* of Ahmadábad in Gujarát, in the second year of the reign, on the night when the *holi* of the Hindús is burnt, a certain Hindú, between whose house and the house of some Musulmáns there was a court-yard common to both houses, prepared to burn the *holi* in front of his house; but the Musulmáns prevented him. The Hindú went to Dáúd Khán, who frequently favoured the infidels,

and argued that he had a right to do as he liked in his own house. After a good deal of talk and importunity, the right to burn the *holi* was allowed. Next day a Musulmán, who dwelt opposite the house, desiring to give an entertainment in honour of the Prophet, brought a cow and slaughtered it there, on the ground that it was his own house All the Hindús of the quarter assembled in a mob round the Musulmáns, and the Musulmáns, being unable to resist, went into their houses and hid themselves

The Hindús grew so bold and violent that they seized a lad of fourteen or fifteen years old, the son of a cow-butcher, and, according to the statement of one of the citizens who fell into their hands, they dragged the boy off and slaughtered him. The report and sight of this outrage drew the Musulmáns together from all quarters; the cry for a general disturbance was raised, and they were ready to do battle with the Hindús A great concourse assembled, and among them several thousand Afgháns, in the service of Dáúd Khán, eager to defend the honour of Islám, without caring to please their master. The Afgháns of the suburbs and the inhabitants of the city assembled together in a great crowd, and went off with one accord to the house of the *kázi*. The *kázi* seeing the mob, hearing the disturbance, and thinking of the partiality of the *Súbadar*, shut his door upon the people.

Report says that upon a hint of the *kázi* as to the conduct and partiality of Dáúd Khán towards the Hindús, the Musulmáns set fire to the door of the *kázi's* house, and began to burn the shops in the *chauk* and the houses of the Hindús. In the riot many shops were destroyed. They then went off with the intention of burning the house of Kapúr Chand, a jeweller, and an active infidel, who took a leading part in this business, and was an acquaintance of Dáúd Khán. He got notice of their intention, and, with a number of matchlockmen whom he collected, he shut the gate of his ward of the town and showed fight. Numbers of Musulmáns and Hindús were

killed. The riot reached such a pitch that for three or four days all business and work in Ahmadábád was suspended. A large number of the leaders on both sides resolved to appeal to the Emperor. Dáúd Khán placed his own seal on the petition of Kapúr Chand, and the *kázi* and other officials having certified to the violence of the Musulmáns, it was sent to Dehlí. Shaikh 'Abdu-l azíz [and other Musulmáns] went in person to Court. [*Further religious contention and violence at Dehlí.*]

Fourth Year of the Reign (1126 A.H., 1714 A.D.).

War with the Sikhs[1]

[Text, vol. ii. p. 761.] The violence [of the Sikhs] passed all bounds. The injuries and indignities they inflicted on Musulmáns, and the destruction of mosques and tombs, were looked upon by them as righteous meritorious acts. They had built a fort at Gurdáspúr in the Panjáb, ten or twelve days' journey from Dehlí, and extended its limits so that fifty or sixty thousand horse and foot could find protection. They strengthened the towers and walls of the place, took possession of all the cultivated land around, and ravaged the country from Láhore to Sihrind, otherwise called Sirhind. 'Abdu-s Samad Khán *Diler Jang* was appointed *Súbadár* of Láhore, and was sent thither with * * and with a select army and artillery. 'Abdu-s Samad engaged the vast army of the *Gurú* near his fort. The infidels fought so fiercely that the army of Islám was nearly overpowered; and they over and over again showed the greatest daring. Great numbers were killed on both sides; but Mughal valour at length prevailed, and the infidels were defeated and driven to their stronghold.

The infidels on several occasions showed the greatest boldness and daring, and made nocturnal attacks upon the Imperial forces.

[1] Or, as the author expresses it, "Extermination of the hellish good-for-nothing *Guru*."

'Abdu-s Samad *Diler Jang*, while lying in front of their poor fortress,[1] was obliged to throw up an intrenchment for the defence of his force. He raised batteries, and pushed forward his approaches. The siege lasted a long time, and the enemy exhibited great courage and daring. They frequently made sallies into the trenches, and killed many of the besiegers. To relate all the struggles and exertions of 'Abdu-s Samad and his companions in arms would exceed our bounds. Suffice it to say that the Royal army in course of time succeeded in cutting off from the enemy his supplies of corn and fodder, and the stores in the fort were exhausted. [*Great straits and sufferings of the besieged.*]

Being reduced to the last extremity, and despairing of life, the *Sikhs* offered to surrender on condition of their lives being spared *Diler Jang* at first refused to grant quarter; but at length he advised them to beg pardon of their crimes and offences from the Emperor. Their chief *Gurú*,[2] with his son of seven or eight years old, his *díwán*, and three or four thousand persons, became prisoners, and received the predestined recompense for their deeds. 'Abdu-s Samad had three or four thousand of them put to the sword, and he filled that extensive plain with blood as if it had been a dish Their heads were stuffed with hay and stuck upon spears Those who escaped the sword were sent in collars and chains to the Emperor. * * 'Abdu-s Samad sent nearly two thousand heads stuffed with hay and a thousand persons bound with iron chains in charge of his son, Zakaríya Khán, and others, to the Emperor.

In the month of Muharram, the prisoners and the stuffed heads arrived at Dehlí. The *Bakhshi* I'timádu-d daula Muhammad Amín Khán received orders to go out of the city, to blacken the faces and put wooden caps on the heads of the prisoners, to ride himself upon an elephant, place the prisoners on camels, and the heads on spears, and thus enter the city, to give a warning to all

[1] The word used is the diminutive "*kil'achi*", but, as the place held so many men, it could not have been small so the word probably applies rather to its character than its size It was probably a series of earth-works

[2] His name was Banda

spectators. After they had entered the city, and passed before the Emperor, orders were given for confining the *Gurú*, his son and two or three of his principal companions, in the fort. As to the rest of the prisoners, it was ordered that two or three hundred of the miserable wretches should be put to death every day before the *kotwal's* office and in the streets of the *bázár*. The men of the *Khatri* caste, who were secretly members of the sect, and followers of the *Gurú*, sought by the offer of large sums of money to Muhammad Amín Khán and other mediators to save the life of the *Gurú*, but they were unsuccessful. After all the *Gurú's* companions had been killed, an order was given that his son should be slain in his presence, or rather that the boy should be killed by his own hands, in requital of the cruelty which that accursed one had shown in the slaughter of the sons of others. Afterwards, he himself was killed

Many stories are told about the wretched dogs of this sect, which the understanding rejects, but the author will relate what he saw with his own eyes

When the executions were going on, the mother of one of the prisoners, a young man just arrived at manhood, having obtained some influential support, pleaded the cause of her son with great feeling and earnestness before the Emperor and Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán She represented that her son had suffered imprisonment and hardship at the hands of the sect. His property was plundered, and he was made prisoner While in captivity, he was, without any fault of his own, introduced into the sect, and now stood innocent among those sentenced to death Farrukh Siyar commiserated this artful woman, and mercifully sent an officer with orders to release the youth. That cunning woman arrived with the order of release just as the executioner was standing with his bloody sword upheld over the young man's head She showed the order for his release The youth then broke out into complaints, saying, "My mother tells a falsehood. I with heart and soul join my fellow-believers in devotion to the *Gurú* send me quickly after my companions."

It is said that I'timádu-d daula Muhammad Amín Khán, when he had an interview with the *Gurú*, said to him, "The marks of sense and intelligence are visible in thy countenance how is it that you never thought about the recompense of your deeds, and that in a short span of life with a dreadful futurity you have been guilty of such cruelty and of such detestable actions to Hindús and Musulmáns? He replied, "In all religions and sects, whenever disobedience and rebellion among mortal men passes all bounds, the Great Avenger raises up a severe man like me for the punishment of their sins and the due reward of their works.

'When He wishes to desolate the world,
He places dominion in the hands of a tyrant'

When He desires to give the tyrant the recompense of his works, He sends a strong man like you to prevail over him, and to give him his due reward in this world · as you and I can see"

Fifth Year of the Reign (1127 A H, 1715 A.D).

[vol ii p. 769] Mír Jumla found it impossible to remain at Patna with honour, in consequence of the excessive demands which the army made upon him for pay. He had disbursed a large sum of government treasure, but their demands and the loud cries raised by the peasantry against their violence made him resolve to go off with all speed to Dehlí. * * In those days, every week and every month some new report got abroad as to the Emperor's intentions and designs in respect to *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. There was a general rumour that Mír Jumla had been recalled, and that Saiyid 'Abdu-llah was to be made prisoner. When Mír Jumla waited upon the Emperor, he was coldly received, and he was severely censured for the wretched state of the people of Patna, and for having come to Court without permission. Mír Jumla, being hurt, went to the Saiyid, and having represented his helplessness, despair and obedience, sought to obtain forgiveness of his offences from the

Emperor and from Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. But intelligent men looked on all this as trick and artifice to secure the imprisonment of the *wazir*.

About the same time, either by design or accident, seven or eight thousand horsemen of dismissed *mansabdárs* went to the houses of Muhammad Amín Khán *Bakhshí*, Khán-daurán the deputy of *Amíru-l umará*, and Mír Jumla, complaining and demanding their arrears of pay * * For four or five days bodies of horsemen appeared in the streets and *bázars* armed and prepared for battle On the other side the officers of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, with suitable forces, ready accoutred and mounted on elephants and horses, held themselves ready for a conflict until night-fall Mír Jumla was bewildered, and not knowing which way to turn, he went and took refuge in the house of Muhammad Amín Khán. The arrows of censure were aimed at him from all sides, and he knew not what to do. At length it was deemed expedient, in order to quell the disturbance and pacify *Kutbu-l Mulk*, that the Emperor should look with anger upon Mír Jumla, diminish his *mansab*, remove him from the *suba* of 'Azímábád (Patna), and appoint him to that of the Panjáb Sarbuland Khán was named *Subadar* of 'Azímábád and Nizámu-l Mulk Bahádur Fath Jang was appointed *Faujdár* of Murádábád, to repress the disorder which reigned there.

For a long time it was the talk of strife-makers and restless men that the Emperor had sent Mír Jumla to Sirhind and the Panjáb, as a matter of policy, and that he intended to recall him Whenever the Emperor went out into the country round the capital to hunt, and remained out for three or four months, the rumour spread from house to house, and from tent to tent, that he had come out for the purpose of making Saiyid 'Abdu-llah prisoner. On the other side, the Saiyid was suspicious, and continued to enlist soldiers, but he engaged very few who were not Saiyids or inhabitants of Bárha

In this year died Asad Khán Karam-málu,[1] at the age of

[1] His real name was Ibráhím, that of his son Zú-l fikár Khán was Isma'íl

ninety-four years. He had held the office of *wazír* and other important posts under Sháh Jahán, Aurangzeb and Bahádur Sháh. * * His ancestors were nobles of Írán * * It is said that in the days of his last illness, Farrukh Siyar sent one of his attendants to visit him, and deliver the following message secretly, "We did not know your worth, and have done what we ought not to have done to such a valuable servant of the State, but repentance is of no avail; still we hope you will give us your advice about the way to treat the Saiyids." The old man said, "The fault which you committed, contrary to the practice of your ancestors, proceeded only from the will of God I knew that, when the office of minister went out of my family, ruin threatened the House of Tímúr But as you have placed yourself and the reins of power in the hands of the Saiyids of Bárha, the best thing for the State is, that you should, to the best of your ability, deal kindly with them, and not carry matters to such a pitch that strife and discord should increase, and you should lose all power.

Sixth Year of the Reign, 1129[1] A H (1717 A.D.)

[Text, vol ii. p 773] Intelligence arrived from the Dakhin which found no place in the communications sent to Court by *Amír u-l umara* Husain 'Alí He was appointing his own followers to the command of the great fortresses, which appointments had always been made previously by the sovereign himself. At Court, also, Rája Ratan Chand, the *díwán* of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, interfered with the appointments of the revenue officers, allowing them no certainty or security in their positions. * * Every day these things became more and more annoying to the Emperor

[Text, vol ii p. 775.] In consequence of the ill-temper of the Emperor, who had become more than ever a man of pleasure and retirement, Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán did not, for four or five

[1] The Hijra years of the reign are those supplied by the editors of the Text.

months together, go to his office to perform his duties as minister and sign papers, so all business was stopped 'Ináyatu-llah Khán made a representation upon this matter, and asked that he would attend the office once or twice a week There was a contention about this for several days, but nothing came of it.

At the instance also of 'Ináyatu-llah, in this year 1131 (*sic*) A.H., an order was given for levying the *jizya* from the Hindús, which was against the wish of Ratan Chand Hindús, eunuchs and Kashmírians, by craft, cheating, and oppression, had got possession of *mansabs* and the rents of *jagirs*, and the extent of other *jagirs* had in like manner been reduced 'Ináyatu-llah prayed that the accounts should be inquired into, and that the *mansabs* in the possession of Hindús and other oppressors should be diminished or confiscated This proposition was very distasteful to Ratan Chand and other revenue officials. They addressed themselves to *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and he was opposed to the issue of the order All the Hindús were greatly enraged with 'Ináyatu-llah, because of the order for collecting the *jizya*, and of the advice about the cutting down of the *mansabs*

SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1129 A H (1717 A.D)

[Text, vol ii p 777] After *Amíru-l umará* Husain 'Alí had defeated Dáúd Khán, he went to Aurangábád, and busied himself in settling the country There he heard of the doings of Khandú Daphárya,[1] general in chief of Rája Sáhú In each of the two *súbas* of the Dakhin a Mahratta chief was appointed *súbadar* for the collection of the Mahratta *chauth*, in the same way as Imperial *súbadars* were appointed Khandú held the *súba* of Khándesh On the road to the port of Surat he had built a mud fort and placed a garrison in it. All caravans that passed were required to pay the *chauth*, i e a fourth part of the value of

[1] In the Text the name is read as "Pahárya" or "Daphárya" Grant Duff calls him "Khande Rao Dhabaray"—vol i p 443

property of merchants and others which was in the convoy If they agreed to pay, they passed safe; if not, they were plundered, the men were made prisoners, and were not released until a ransom was paid for each

Husain 'Alí sent his *bakhshi*, Zú-l fikár Beg, with three or four thousand horse and five or six thousand musketeers, to chastise this chief After Zú-l fikár Beg had passed through the pass between Aurangábád and Khándesh, he learnt that Khandú, with eight or nine thousand horse, was near the confines of Baglána and Gálna, seventy *kos* from Aurangábád He was anxious to attack him, but Khandú made an ignominious flight, and led Zú-l fikár Beg towards thorny and difficult jungles For all the scouts reported that there was no good opportunity of engaging the enemy, Zú-l fikár Beg, proud of his own courage, and seconded by the advice of some ignorant men of Bárha, paid no heed to their reports, but attacked Khandú At the first attack many of the enemy were killed, but Khandú, according to Dakhní practice, took to flight, drawing after him in pursuit four or five hundred well-mounted horse Having thus dispersed the army of the Bárhas, he suddenly faced round, and falling upon Zú-l fikár Beg with a large force, he closed the way by which support could be rendered to the scattered horse, and attacked so fiercely that the army of Islám was in hard straits Zu-l fikár Beg and a number of his brave followers were killed Of the rest of the army, those who wished to save their lives threw themselves from their horses, laid down their arms, and were taken prisoners alive Those who resisted were all put to the sword It is commonly said that not one bullock, camel or horse belonging to that army was saved

Amíru-l umará Husain 'Alí sent Rája Muhakkim Singh, his *díwán*, with a suitable force, to punish Khandú He also directed his own brother Saifu-d dín 'Alí Khán, *Súbadár* of Burhánpúr, to support the Rája Saifu-d dín had gone out of Burhánpúr towards Sultánpúr and Nandurbár for settling the country. These two famous chiefs pursued Khandú, in

the hope of retaliating upon him, or of removing his posts so that they might no longer trouble the country and people of Khándesh. But they accomplished nothing. Khandú bided his time, and went to Rája Sáhú, who was in a secure fortress. His garrisons, which were posted in various places, held their ground Whenever the army of *Amíru-l umará* approached, their force fled, and as soon as it had departed, they returned and re-occupied their positions Muhakkim Singh succeeded in engaging some other Mahratta forces which were plundering in the vicinity of Ahmadnagar, and drove them under the walls of the fort of Sattára They were, however, unable to exact revenge from Khandú for the death of Zú-l fikár Beg, and the destruction of his army

The fact of the disagreement between the Emperor and the Saiyids was well known from the *farmans* and orders which had been sent secretly to Rája Sáhú, the *díwáns* and the chief *zamíndárs* of Karnátik, desiring them not to obey Husain 'Alí Khán They had accordingly showed resistance, and no settlement of Bíjápúr and Haidarábád had been effected

Eighth Year of the Reign, 1130 A H (1718 A D).

The Mahrattas

[Text, vol ii p 781] The Emperor Aurangzeb having resolved upon the reduction of the fortresses of the Dakhin, spent long time and great treasure in the work. He took the forts of Sattára, Parnála, Rájgarh, and others, thirty or forty in number, all fortresses of strength and repute, and deprived the Mahrattas of house and home The chiefs of this race of robbers, knowing that the Imperial territory was now vacant, and the Emperor far away, showed greater boldness than in former years With large armies they invaded the *súbas* of the Dakhin, and Ahmadábád, and Málwá, for the purpose of collecting the *chauth*, and they plundered and ravaged wherever they went To cities and large towns they sent messengers and letters,

demanding payment of the *chauth* from the governor or *zamindár*. Or the *mukkaddams* and *zamindárs* of the towns and villages hastened out to meet the Mahratta army, undertaking to pay the *chauth*, and begged for protection. Taking back with them a messenger (*harkára*) and a horseman, to protect the village and the cultivation, instead of showing their total rent to be one or two thousand (rupees), they made it out to be four or five hundred. But whatever sum was settled, they promised payment, and gave sureties, called *ol* in the language of India. They thus saved themselves from violence and plunder.

When the *faujdárs* or *zamindárs* of a place refused to pay the *chauth*, and made no propositions, the Mahrattas attacked the place and thoroughly ravaged it. If, after investing a place for some days, they found themselves unable to take it, they moved away. In this way the towns of Nandurbár, Sultánpúr, Jámúd, and many other well-known towns of Burhánpúr, Birár, and other *súbas* of the Dakhin, were invested by twenty-eight thousand horsemen for two or three weeks, who were finally beaten off

The Mahrattas treated caravans just in the same way, and many were plundered The commanders of their bands did their best to settle the amount of *chauth* to be paid, and were not willing to pillage Their men, on the contrary, strove to prevent any arrangement of the *chauth*, so that they might be free to plunder For, if an agreement was arrived at, and the *chauth* was settled without plundering, it belonged to the chiefs, and the men got nothing. But, if it came to plundering, each man kept what he could lay hands upon, and the chiefs did not gain so much

Towards the end of the reign of Aurangzeb, Rání Tárá Báí, widow of Rám Rája, kept up a state of warfare with the Emperor for ten or twelve years after her husband's death. She then offered to make peace upon condition of receiving a grant of the *sar-deshmukhí* of the six *súbas* of the Dakhin, at the rate of nine per cent. For the honour of Islám, and for other reasons, Aurangzeb rejected this proposal.

In the reign of Bahádur Sháh the *vakíls* of Rája Sáhú and the Rání made proposals, and obtained a grant of the *sar-deshmukhi*, upon certain conditions, which have been stated in the history of that reign. But differences arose between the Rání and Rája Sáhú, so that Bahádur Sháh's intentions were never carried out Neither did the arrangement as to the *sar-deshmukhi* take effect. In the time of Dáúd Khán, while he was acting as deputy of Zúl-l fikár Khán, a treaty and friendly agreement was made between him and the enemy, in which it was stipulated that the *jágírs* of the princes and Dáúd Khán should not be molested, but that as regarded the remaining tenures of the great nobles, Dáúd Khán's deputy, Híráman, should arrange for the payment of the *chauth*. Caravans were not to be molested. So they simmered together like milk and sugar, and matters went on without[1] hitch or evasion

The government of Nizámu-l Mulk, as we have recorded, began in peace, and ended with war, which lasted for one year and five months, and inflicted chastisement upon the enemy. Two or three years of Husain 'Alí Khán's government passed in quarrels with the Emperor, so that, although he raised a large army, he could not show the vigour that was necessary, nor effect such a settlement as he himself desired and the character of the Saiyids of Bárha required In the year 1130 A H, acting upon the advice of Anwar Khán, one of the *shaikh-zádas* of Burhánpúr, who were patronized by the Saiyids, and upon the counsel of other trusted nobles, he availed himself of the services of a Brahman named Sankarájí This man had been one of the principal servants of Sivají and Sambhájí, and in their confidence After the conquest of Jinjí, he entered the Imperial service, and acted as *vakíl* of those Mahratta chiefs who had submitted and of some who had not. He was not wanting in the intelligence which is helped by fortune.

Through Bálájí Bishwanáth and Jamnájí, *brahmans*, and most intelligent generals of Rája Sáhú, a proposal of peace was

[1] The text says "with," but the context seems clear

made on these terms. There was to be paid to the officers of Rája Sáhú a fourth part of what the *amíns*, *krorís*, and *shikkdárs* collected as land revenue, and as *sáir* from the government lands and from the *jágírdárs*. It was also settled that, in addition to the fourth share which they were to get from the receipts of the *jágírdárs*, they were to receive from the *raiyats* ten per cent as *sar-deshmukhí*. Altogether they were to receive thirty-five per cent. upon the total collections, (and also) upon the *abwábs* called *faujdárí*, *shikkdárí*, *ziyáfat*, and other charges, as shown in the gross account of the collections. According to this account they were to receive nearly half the total revenue recorded in the Government rent-roll, and (the collections) were thus shared by the domineering collectors of Rája Sáhu. This arrangement, by which they were to collect all taxes, fell very hard upon the *raiyats*, and the government officers and *jagírdars*, for in every district there were two collectors—one called the *kamáishdár*, the other the *gumáshta* of the *sar-deshmukhí*. On the roll of the collections the signature of the *sarrishtadár* of the *sar-deshmukhí* was first placed, and what was required by the rules on that account was to be taken separately.[1] The position and life of the officers of Government and of the *jágírdárs* became (irksome).

Besides these, there were two separate collectors of the *rahdárí* (road duties) in each district. In consequence of the negligence of the *faujdars* and the dominance of the enemy, these had for some time taken their positions in different places, and exacted half a rupee, or one rupee, for each bullock and cart, from merchants, and whatever they pleased from other persons. They exacted twice or three times more than (the most) tyrannical *faujdars*. Now also, since the days of the peace, the former grievance remained, but it was aggravated by more taking part in it. In the present state of things there were in each district three regular collectors of Rája Sáhú, with parties of horsemen and footmen stationed at the office, the guard-house where the land-revenue the *sáir* and the tolls were collected.

[1] The meaning is here obscure.

Besides this there were in many places villages which had been laid waste by the Mahrattas, and which had been again brought into cultivation under special agreements, such as the districts about Nandurbár, in Khándesh, in Birár, and in other places. They paid no heed to the special contracts made by Husain 'Alí Khán; but, conceding the third share belonging to the *jágírdár*, they made the following arrangement. They recognized three shares; one was for the *jágírdár*, one they took themselves, and the third they left to the *raiyats*. In revenue and civil matters the orders and the action of the enemy prevailed over the authority of the *faujdars* and *jágírdars*. At the time of the peace Husain 'Alí Khán determined, and issued strict injunctions that the *ráhdári* should not be exacted, as in the days before the peace, from merchants and travellers at the rate of three (rupees) or four upon each bullock and cart, as if *faujdárs* and harsh officials were acting. But it was no good In several districts there was no longer any plundering of villages and caravans, but, as in former days, travellers and wanderers paid the *rahdári*, and went on in peace without interruption Villages which had been ravaged by plunderers, or made completely desolate by the tyranny of rapacious managers, were now restored to cultivation

Husain 'Alí delivered a *sanad* containing the conditions of peace, under his seal, to the *vakils* of Rája Sáhú, and made no delay in writing for a royal *farmán* confirmatory of this document He introduced the agents of Rája Sáhú everywhere, and he settled that Bálájí Bishwanáth and Jamnájí, two of the highest officers of Rája Sáhú, should stay with a suitable escort in Aurangábád as deputy and *vakil* of the Rája, so that all civil and revenue matters might be settled through them.

Transactions at Court

[Text, vol. ii. p 790] Husain 'Alí Khán's letter communicating the terms of the peace, and asking for a confirmatory

farmán, reached the Emperor. Several well-wishers of the State urged that it was not well to admit the vile enemy to be overbearing partners in matters of revenue and government. So Farrukh Siyar rejected the treaty. [*The Emperor makes several appointments to the Dakhin which Husain 'Ali does not carry into effect.*] The news from the Dakhin increased the annoyance of the Emperor.

In these evil days there was at Court a Kashmírí of low origin, named Muhammad Murád, an idle babbler of disreputable character, who was the common talk of everybody, high and low In the reign of Bahádur Sháh he had obtained, through the interest of Jahándár Sháh, a *mansab* of 1000 and the title of Wakálat Khán * * He was introduced to Farrukh Siyar, and, availing himself of the opportunity, * * he obtained such an ascendency over him that in a short time he received the title of *Ruknu-d daula I'tikád Khán Farrukh Sháhi*, and an increase of his *jagir* from 1000 to 7000 and 10,000 horse. He became the Emperor's confidential adviser, and joined in recommending the overthrow of the rule of the Saiyids of Bárha. Not a day passed without his receiving jewels of great value, ornamented weapons, dresses, or some great gift.

It was now resolved that Sarbuland Khán should be recalled from Patna, and Nizámu-l Mulk Fath Jang Bahádur from Murádábád, where he had chastised the rebels, and restored the district to peace and security. Rája Ajít Singh was also sent for from Ahmadábád. Hopes of high promotion and royal favour were held out to them, and they all conspired together for the overthrow of the Bárha Saiyids. The strangest part of the matter was that when Nizámu-l Mulk was recalled from Murádábád, he received no other appointment, but the *jágir* which he there held was taken from him, the name of Murádábád was changed to Ruknábád, it was erected into a distinct *súba*, and the *súbadári* and the *jágir* were granted as an *áltamghá* to Ruknu-d daula I'tikád Khán. When these nobles assembled, Rája Ajít Singh received the title of *Mahárája* and other

honours, but he became the ally and companion of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán.

Nizámu-l Mulk and Sarbuland Khán were at first led to expect the appointments of *wazír* and *mír-bakhshí*. The Emperor spoke to them both about removing the obnoxious minister Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán from office, and they replied, "Your Majesty can give the portfolio of *wazír* to whichever of us you deem most capable, and if Saiyid 'Abdu-llah shows any resistance after his removal, he shall be brought to punishment." The Emperor replied, "I know of no person more fit for the post of *wazír* than I'tikád Khán." Every exalted noble of Írán and of Túrán, when he heard that it was the Emperor's design to bestow the important office of *wazír*, with every sign of partiality, upon such a prating, base-born, infamous person, felt the greatest disgust. They were heart-broken, but they were not disposed to obey and submit to I'tikád Khán.

In the midst of this uneasy feeling the *'I'd-i fitr* occurred, and nearly seventy thousand horse and foot went in the royal procession to the *'I'd-gah*. There was great apprehension among all classes, in expectation that Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán was about to be made prisoner. On that day Saiyid 'Abdu-llah had not with him more than four or five thousand horse * * After this Saiyid 'Abdu-llah began to enlist soldiers. In former days he entertained few except Saiyids of Bárha, because he had full reliance on their courage and devotion; but he now gave orders for the enlistment of twenty thousand men of all tribes.

When this disturbing intelligence reached *Amíru-l umará* Husain 'Alí in the Dakhin, his apprehensions were aroused, and he resolved to proceed to Court. But before doing so he resolved upon another plan, and * * wrote to Court for information. Afterwards he received intelligence that peace had been made between the Emperor and Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, that Rája Ajít Singh, who had been called to Court, had received the hereditary title of *Mahárája* and other royal favours, through the help and countenance of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah; that, although

his daughter was affianced to the Emperor, he was in close accord and intimacy with the Saiyid, and that a strict and lasting agreement of amity had been made between them.

At the end of the month of Shawwál the Emperor, in accord with I'tikád Khán, *Khán-daurán*, and other well-disposed nobles, went to the house of *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, to pay him a vist. They then made friends together, swore to an absence of animosity, and mutually made excuses for past behaviour, and for the ill-feelings that had been entertained. The Emperor then returned. Ikhlás Khán, an old and devoted friend of the two brothers, was sent to the Dakhin, to give a feeling of assurance to *Amíru-l umara*

NINTH[1] YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1131 A.H. (1719 A.D.).

[Text, vol. ii p 749] The opinions and resolutions of the Emperor never remained steady to one course Now he was resolved upon peace and amity, and now upon the degradation recommended by evil counsellors * * Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán had engaged nearly twenty thousand men, and day by day the dissension and rupture between him and the Emperor grew wider. * * Letters arrived from *Husain 'Ali*, representing his wish to come to Court, and complaining that the climate of the Dakhin did not agree with him * * On the other hand, letters reached him from his brother urging him to come quickly to Court. So, on the 15th Shawwal, in the seventh (*sic*) year of the reign, he sent forward his brother, Saifu-d dín 'Alí Khán, with four or five thousand horse, as an advanced force, to Burhánpúr, with directions to collect the materials of war and artillery.

Amíru-l umara Husain 'Alí received many letters in succession from his brother, *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah.

[1] The *Tazkira-i Chaghatái* reckons it as the eighth year A "ninth year" is manifestly wrong, and inconsistent with Kháfí Khán's own statement, that the length of the reign was "six years and four months" Adding the eleven months of the reign of Jahándár, which he tells us were officially reckoned as part of the reign, the "eighth year" would be reached See pp 446 and 478.

At the end of Zí-l hijja, he left Aurangábád, and, after halting a week for making necessary arrangements, at the beginning of Muharram, 1131[1] Hijra, having put his artillery in order, and done his best to secure the good-will of the *amirs* and the Mahrattas, he with * * * commenced his march upon Dehlí * * He placed the fort of Malhír, * * the fort of Sálír, and two or three other forts, in charge of men of his own * * Nearly sixteen thousand Mahrattas marched with him under the command of Khandú Daphánya, who was one of the best generals of Rája Sáhú, and was his *Súbadár* of Khándesh. Santá, and several other Mahratta chiefs, went with him. * * On the 22nd Muharram he marched from Burhánpúr, and went on until he crossed the Nerbadda at Akbarpúr, where he met Ikhlás Khán, who had been sent from Court to re-assure him, and prevent his march * * They had an interview near the fort of Mándú, * * and Husain 'Alí became more eager than before to reach the capital. * * On the 14th Safar he reached Ujjain Here he heard, from the *Faujdar* of Gwálior, [*of the pacification and oaths of amity between the Emperor and Saiyid 'Abdu-llah*] Then, in open *darbar*, he said, "If the Emperor no longer retains any animosity and rancour against us, and will deal with us kindly and without malice, we have no other desire but to prove our obedience and loyalty. After paying my homage, and re-assuring myself about sundry matters, I will quickly return to the Dakhin." * * But on the second or third day after, Husain 'Alí Khán heard from trustworthy and confidential correspondents how the private talk was that the Emperor's proceedings were merely devices and snares that he was weaving to catch fools

Other letters also informed Saiyid Husain 'Alí that Sarbuland Khán, in consequence of the resumption of his *jagir*, and the transfer of his prosperous lands to Mír Jumla, and through want

[1] Scott agrees with this date, but the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin* makes it 1132, see Briggs, p 164

of money, inability to pay his soldiers, and pressing demands, had retired from service, resigned his *mansab*, and had given up his elephants, horses, and household effects to his creditors, with the intention of becoming a religious mendicant. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, having heard of this, went to him and endeavoured to console him. He furnished him with money, elephants, and horses, and appointed him *Súbadár* of Kábul, thus binding him to him by the obligations of kindness. Nizámu-l Mulk also, through the hard usage of times favourable only to the base, was called from Murádábád, with the expectation of being made *wazir*, but his office and his *jágír* were given to I'tikád Khán. He was disgusted and burnt with rage against the worthless (favourite). Saiyid 'Abdu-llah did his best to console him, and promised him the *súbadárí* of Málwá. I'timádu-d daula, who had come to Court without leave or order, fell into disgrace, and was deprived of his *mansab* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah consoled him also. He likewise won over fortune-seekers by rendering them assistance, and inquiring about their affairs Khán-daurán, who from the beginning had been reckoned as an associate of Mír Jumla, and one of the Emperor's friends, was also brought over to the side of the minister.

It was now announced that the Emperor was going out hunting on a certain day, and that as he returned he would pay a visit to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. Mahárája Ajít Singh, although he was father-in-law to the Emperor, had become a firm ally of the minister. His house was situated in the road leading to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah's, and the Emperor had determined that, when his escort reached the Mahárája's house, he would make him prisoner, although he might come out to offer his *nazar* and pay his respects. But although this resolve was confined to the Emperor's own heart, Ajít Singh was alarmed and suspicious, for "traitors are fearful," and before the Emperor returned he took refuge in the house of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah.

The Emperor was returning in a boat, and was about to proceed to the house of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, as he had determined.

But he learned of Ajít Singh's having sought protection in the house of that noble, which greatly annoyed him; and when he came near the house, he changed his intention, and ordered the boat to be rowed quickly onwards His suite and equipage went to the house, and the *wazír* went forth as far as the bank of the river to meet him, but he repaired to his palace in the fort

[Text, vol. ii. p 804.] [*March of Husain 'Alí Khán.*] At the end of the month Rabí'u-l awwal, at the beginning of the eighth year of the reign, Husain 'Alí Khán approached Dehlí and encamped near the *lát* of Fíroz Sháh, two or three *kos* from the city. There he showed his rebellious designs by ordering his drums to be beaten loudly in defiance, for it is contrary to all rule for (a subject's) drums to be beaten near the residence of the Emperor Complaining of the Emperor, he entered his tents, and repeatedly said that he no longer reckoned himself among the servants of the monarch. "I will maintain the honour of my race, and care neither for loss of my *mansab*, nor for royal censure"

But the strangest thing was that the heedless Emperor—although he heard the sounds of the hostile drums and trumpets, which rose so boldly and publicly—and although at the sound of the drum other drums in every street and market beat to arms—even then he did not come to his senses All resolution and prudence was cast aside. Now raging with anger, he rolled up his sleeves (for action), threatening vengeance against the two brothers, now taking a conciliatory turn, he sat behind the curtain of dissimulation, and opened the door of amity upon the face of enmity.

Rájádhiráj (Jai Singh), who raised his voice in favour of unanimous action and the punishment of the rebels, met with no success. The devoted nobles, of the stocks of 'Arab and of 'Ajam,[1] felt that they had no power of themselves to beat the

[1] The author, and other writers of his time, are fond of referring to the lands to which many of the nobles owed their origin, "*Irán o Túrán*," "*'Arab o 'Ajam*."

drums of war and bloodshed, and this was particularly the case with the Mughals, who knew all about the matter. No one had the force to speak a friendly word to him whose head was muffled. At the sight of this change of fortune, of the progress of the rebellion of the two ministers, and of the supineness and want of perception in the Emperor, men lost all heart, and many, taking their cue from him, went to wait upon Saiyid Husain 'Alí

Four or five days after the arrival of Husain 'Alí, his brother Saiyid 'Abdu-llah made a statement of his brother's grievances, and said that if Rája Jai Singh, the disturbing spirit, were sent home to his country, and if the nominations to the artillery, and to the office of President of the Privy Council, and the appointments of the Emperor's personal attendants, were made in favour of Husain 'Alí's adherents, and if the fortress were placed under his control, then he would come without any apprehension to pay his homage, and all might be settled to the satisfaction of the two brothers. The poor dull-witted Emperor, unmindful of the deceitfulness of delusive fortune, granted the demands of the Saiyids. He consented to give over the entire control of the appointments to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, the other Saiyids of Bárha, and their supporters, I'tikád Khán and other of his favourites were to be dismissed

On the 3rd Rabí'u-l ákhir, Rájádhiráj, under an order which did not allow of a day's delay, left Dehlí for Amber, his home. * * On the 5th, Saiyid 'Abdu-llah and Mahárája Ajít Singh, with their followers, entered the citadel, and, removing the Emperor's men from the gates, they made their own dispositions, and placed their own men in charge. Of all the great men near the Emperor, none were left near him or near the gates of the fortress, except I'tikád Khán, Imtiyáz Khán, registrar (*mushrif*) of the Privy Council, whose absence or presence made no difference, Zafar Khán, who, for his complaisance and time-serving, was called, "the pea in every soup," and some helpless attendants and eunuchs.

Amíru-l umará Husain 'Alí, with regal pomp and display, mounted his horse, and entered the fort, around which his army, and that of the Mahrattas, had taken post. He paid his homage. After that, a few sad and admonitory words were exchanged. The *Amír* received the usual presents of robes, etc., with an unwilling heart, and, showing scant ceremony, returned to his abode. On the 8th day of the month the Saiyids for the second time took measures to secure the fort. *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah and the Mahárája, with their trusted followers and a select force, entered the fortress, and, as before, they removed the royal servants, placed the charge of the gates under their own trusty men, and demanded the keys of the *díwán-i khás*, the sleeping apartment and the hall of justice. * *

Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán went to the distracted Emperor Farrukh Siyar, along with Ajít Singh, and poured forth his grievances. He said,[1] "In return for all our services to you and your ancestors, we have received nothing from you, ungrateful King, but evil thoughts and suspicions and treacherous designs. We have, as proofs of our words, the *farmans* which you sent to the irreligious Dáúd Khán Afghán, and other miscreants in the Dakhin, directing them to oppose and slay your faithful servant (Husain 'Alí Khán). * * Our fears and suspicions will not be removed until the control over all the great offices shall be placed in our hands." The bewildered Emperor made some excuses and promises, but the talk went on to a great length, and many bitter and offensive things were said. The Emperor got angry and was unable to restrain himself further. He first said a few words condemning I'tikád Khán, who was in fact the prime cause of the mischief, and then he censured Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. I'tikád Khán made some foolish statements, excusing himself; but both he and the Emperor had lost all control over themselves. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah then interfered, and, abusing I'tikád Khán, he allowed him no retort, but

[1] Abridged translation.

ordered him to be turned out of the fortress. * * All round and about the fortress the cries of strife arose, and the Emperor, feeling his reverse of fortune, went into the female apartments. * *

That night all the city was full of dread and helplessness. The soldiers of the two brothers were posted fully armed in all the streets and markets, and no one knew what was passing in the fort, or what would happen. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, Rája Ajít Singh, and their chief supporters, held counsel together, not knowing what the morn would bring forth; but they took such precautions everywhere as seemed necessary. The Mahratta chiefs, Khandú Dapháriya, Bálájí Bishwanáth, Santá, and others, with their ten or eleven thousand men, passed the night under arms, not knowing what would happen, but ready for disturbance and plunder * *

Reports of all kinds, false and true, spread abroad One was that Saiyid 'Abdu-llah had been killed Other alarming rumours flew about I'tikád Khán and some other nobles, reckless as to the consequences, were about to take horse and proceed to oppose *Amíru-l umara*, when the news came of the approach of his cavalcade, and of the banners of I'timádu-d daula Muhammad Amín Khán and Chín Kalích Khán being in sight, for the latter, in his crafty politic way, had left his house to join *Amíru-l umara.* There was no conflict or struggle with the Mahrattas, for, before things had come to that pass, fourteen or fifteen horsemen, in the service of Khán-daurán, who were called "Blanket-wearers," shot a few arrows against the Mahrattas, when the whole of their force was seized with panic and took to flight. * * The idlers and vagabonds of the *bazár* and the unemployed Mughals, hearing of this flight, drew their swords and fell to killing and plundering * * A thousand to fifteen hundred Mahrattas, horse and foot, were killed, including Santá, a chief of note, and two or three other leaders. * * I'tikád Khán, with some of his companions, went into the *chauk* of Sa'du-llah near his own house,

made some attacks, and threw up barricades. But his movement was ill-timed, and, being alarmed at what he had done, he went and surrendered himself prisoner.

The tumult was still high when the drums proclaimed the accession of Abú-l Barakát Rafí'u-d Daraját, and a declaration of amnesty was also published * * The people were desirous to get a message sent in by artifice to Farrukh Siyar, and to bring him out of the palace, but they were unsuccessful. The women, the Abyssinians and the Turks, all prepared to fight At length some Afgháns and attendants (*chelas*), backed up by Najmu-d dín 'Alí Khán, younger brother of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and * * some other traitors, entered the palace After much search, Farrukh Siyar was found hidden in a corner of the roof, to which they got a hint from some of the women They dragged him out with great indignity. His mother, wife, sister, and other ladies who were near the unfortunate monarch, cried and wailed, and threw themselves at the feet of the Afgháns and *chelas*, beseeching and entreating them * * At length the conspirators dragged him away from the women, and, having blinded him, they placed him in confinement in a room at the top of the *tirpauliya* in the fort.[1] This was a small and narrow room like a grave, which had been used for keeping prisoners destined for the torture. In this corner of sorrow and grief they left him, with nothing but a ewer, a vessel for the necessities of nature, and a glass to drink out of.

The troublous reign of the late Farrukh Siyar the *Shahid* (martyr) lasted for six years and four months, without counting the eleven months of the reign of Jahándár, which were reckoned as part of his reign, and so entered in the royal records.[2]

[1] The *Tazkira-i Chaghatái* is in general accord with this It adds that the room was the same as that in which Jahándár Sháh was murdered.

[2] A note in the printed text says that eight MSS. agree in this.—See *post*, p 481.

THE SHORT REIGN OF A FEW DAYS OF ABÚ-'L BARAKÁT RAFÍ'U-D DARAJÁT, FOURTEENTH IN DESCENT FROM AMÍR TÍMÚR.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 816.] After the poor injured Emperor had been set aside, the same confusion and trouble prevailed, both inside and outside the palace. On the 9th Rabí'u-l ákhir, 1131[1] A.H., (18th Feb., 1719) Shamsu-d dín Abú-l Barakát Rafí'u-d Daraját, younger son of Rafí'u-sh Shán, and grandson of Bahádur Sháh, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, was made Emperor. He was twenty years of age when he was brought out of confinement, and the noise and confusion was so great and general, that there was not even time to send him to the bath, or change his clothes In the same garments he was wearing, with only a pearl necklace thrown upon his neck for ornament, he was placed upon the throne. His accession and a general amnesty were proclaimed to stay the tumult *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, after offering his congratulations, placed his partisans and faithful servants inside the fortress Over the doors of the public and private council chambers, and in every place, he stationed men of his own party. The eunuchs, the personal attendants, and all the servants of any importance, were men of his own.

In the council of the first day, in accordance with the desire of Rája Ajít Singh, and of the bigoted Rája Ratan Chand, an order was passed for the abolition of the *jizya*, and assurances of security and protection were circulated all over the country I'tikád Khán was sent to prison with every mark of ignominy; his *jagír* was taken away, and his house was seized Notwithstanding it had been disturbed, it was found to be full of jewels, cash, gold, objects of art, and vessels of silver, and an investi-

[1] The *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirín* makes the date 1132, and is generally a year in advance —Briggs, p. 182

gation was ordered for the discovery and recovery of the jewels and pearls he had received as presents. * * I'timádu-d daula Amín Khán was confirmed as *Bakhshi* The *súbadári* of Patna was given to Nizámu-l Mulk Bahádur Fath Jang. * *

Two months had passed since the late Emperor had been placed in confinement. In that room he had endured all kinds of tortures, and passed his days in the deepest trouble. It is reported that the blinding operation had not entirely destroyed his sight, and in his stupidity and love of power, which destroys the lives and integrity of so many thousands, he sent messages to the rulers of the State, excusing himself for the actions of past days, and spoke of again sitting upon the throne and of directing the affairs of State with the two brothers. An Afghán, named 'Abdu-llah Khán, had been placed as a guard over him in his living tomb. He ingratiated himself with this Afghán, promised him a *mansab* of 7000, and consulted with him as to the way of escaping to Mahárájádhíráj Jai Singh, which he looked upon as the only means of safety The Afghán having discovered the captive's intentions, made them known to the ministers, and the Saiyids, urged on by their friends, determined to take away his life. Poison was twice administered without effect On the second or third occasion, when it affected him, and for all the cruelty death did not come quickly, he thought upon the harshness of the two brothers, and how they had acted in defiance of the solemn oaths they had given to him. Unable to control himself, he used bitter words against them, and asked how it was that no punishment had fallen upon these two faithless oath-breakers Words were uttered which ought not to have been spoken. The two brothers were told of this, and they ordered that he should be got rid of quickly by strangling. When the thong was thrown upon his neck, he seized it with both his hands, and struggled violently with hands and feet, but the executioners beat his hands with sticks, and made him leave go his hold. There is a common report that daggers and knives were used in

that desperate struggle, but from what the author has heard no such weapons were used.[1]

The coffin was borne to the tomb of Humáyún, and was accompanied by two or three thousand men and women, chiefly the vagabonds and mendicants of the city who had partaken of his bounty. They cried and groaned, tore their clothes, threw dust upon their heads, and scattered their abuse. The *bakhshis* of Husain 'Alí Khán and Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán were ordered to attend the funeral, and did so with several principal men of the city Stones were cast at them No one would take the bread or copper coins which were offered in charity. On the third day some vagabonds and beggars met, cooked food, and distributed it among the poor, and remained assembled all night[2]

Report says that the two brothers took possession of, and selected for themselves, whatever they pleased of the royal treasure, jewels, works of art, elephants and horses Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán was very fond of women, and the common talk was that two or three of the late King's beauties pleased him, and he took them to himself, although, for the gratification of his lust and desires, he had seventy or eighty beautiful women.

The brotherly love which had existed between the two brothers now turned to hatred and to jealousy of each other's power Although the reins of power in civil matters pertaining to the office of *wazír* were in the hands of the elder brother, the younger, *Amíru-l umará* Husain 'Alí, was a brave, experienced, generous and proud man, whose equal it was hard to find. He had drawn to himself, by his kindness and generosity, most of the brave and able nobles, and he was getting into his hands a control over all the government of the country. So it was said that there were contentions between the brothers. * *

[1] "He was 38 years of age, and the period of his reign, reckoning from his assumption of royalty at Patna, was seven years one month and nine days, from his victory over Jahándár Sháh it was six years three months and twenty-four days."—*Tazkira-i Chaghatai*

[2] Scott quotes this passage in his *History of the Dekkan.*

On the 9th Jumáda-l ákhir, 1131, the soldiers at Ágra brought out of confinement in the fort, and raised to the sovereignty, a person named Nekú Siyar,[1] a son of Prince Muhammad Akbar, and grandson of Aurangzeb. His accession was announced by peals of cannon, and coins of gold and silver were struck in his name.

[Text, vol ii p 829] The Emperor Rafi'u-d Daraját was suffering from consumption (*dikk*). The physicians, under the orders of the Saiyids, did all they could to cure him, but without success. This monarch had not the slightest control in matters of government[2] * * Sorrow increased his illness, and he became so helpless that the two brothers considered as to which of the imprisoned princes should be named successor. Rafi'u-d Daraját said that if, in his lifetime, the *khutba* were read, and coins struck in the name of his elder brother, Rafi'u-d Daula, it would be a great kindness, and very acceptable to him The Saiyids consented Three days after Rafi'u-d Daula ascended the throne, Rafi'u-d Daraját died. He had reigned six months and ten days

Rafi'u-d Daula, entitled Shah Jahan the Second, Fourteenth in Descent from, and Seventeenth King in Succession to, Amir Timur

[Text, vol ii. p 831] On the 20th Rajab, 1131[3] A H (May 27, 1719 A.D.), Rafi'u-d Daula, who was one year and a half older than his brother Rafi'u-d Daraját, was raised to the

[1] The text goes on to explain that when Prince Akbar quarrelled with his father Aurangzeb, this young Prince and two of his sisters were detained The daughters were married to two sons of Bahádur Sháh, but Nekú Siyar was kept in prison forty years Mahárájádhiráj Jai Singh and Nizámu-l Mulk were said to have favoured this attempt to make Nekú Siyar Emperor, but Kháfi Khán, in contradiction, says that Nizámu-l Mulk strove to hinder it

[2] "Rafi'u-d Daraja took no part in State business, the entire authority was in the hands of his cruel *wazir* and his brother"—*Tazkira-i Chaghatái*

[3] The *Tazkira-i Chaghatái* is in accord, the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirín* makes it a year later

throne with the title of Sháh Jahán the Second. Matters went on just as before, for, excepting that the coins were struck and the *khutba* read in his name, he had no part in the government of the country. He was surrounded by creatures of *Kutbu-l Mulk*, and, as to going out or staying at home, holding a court, or choosing his food and raiment, he was under the direction of Himmat Khán. He was not allowed to go to the mosque on Friday, or to go hunting, or to talk to any of the *amírs*, without the presence of one of the Saiyids or his guardian.

[vol ii p. 832] *Amíru-l umará* Husain 'Alí sent Haidar Kulí Khán with a force in advance against Ágra, and on the 7th Sha'bán he himself set out for that city with * * an army of about 25,000 men * * Rájádhiráj Jai Singh, with a force of nine or ten thousand horse, and others whom he had collected, was waiting one march from Amber for Rája Chhabílá Rám [*to go and join Nekú Siyar*] *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, in consequence of the rumours that were afloat, taking the Emperor with him, marched, at the end of Sha'bán, with Mahárája Ajít Singh, and other *amírs*, and an army of upwards of thirty thousand horse, from Dehlí towards Ágra, and against Jai Singh.

At this time Mahárája Ajít Singh took back the Mahárání, his daughter, who had been married to Farrukh Siyar, with all her jewels and treasure and valuables, amounting to a *kror* of rupees in value. According to report he made her throw off her Musulmán dress, dismissed her Muhammadan attendants, and sent her to her native country * * In the reign of no former Emperor had any Rája been so presumptuous as to take his daughter after she had been married to a King and admitted to the honour of Islám

The fort of Ágra was invested, lines of approach were formed, and batteries raised. When Husain 'Alí Khán arrived, the cannonade began, and many houses inside and outside the fort were destroyed The siege went on for three months * *

The rainy season caused Saiyid 'Abdu-llah to delay in his march against Jai Singh, but he reached Mathurá, within ten

kos of which place Jai Singh was awaiting the arrival of Rája Chhabílá Rám and other allies. When the Rája found that none of his expected supporters arrived, he sent *vakils* to beg forgiveness for the offence he had committed.

Nekú Siyar had a *munshi* named Nath Mal. At the invitation of some crafty men among the besiegers, he came out of the fort to conduct them to Nekú Siyar But these men made him prisoner, and took him to *Amiru-l umará.* In his portfolio were found several letters addressed by *amirs* in the besieging army to Nekú Siyar, * * but the *Amir* thought it desirable to hush this matter up. * * The provisions in the fort were falling short, and the defenders were in despair A proposal to surrender was accepted, and an assurance of safety to life and honour was given. The keys were given up, Ágra was secured on the 27th Ramazán, and Nekú Siyar and his supporters were made prisoners Mitr Sen, who had set this revolt on foot, knowing that there was no hope of mercy for him, but that he would be put to death with ignominy, killed himself with a dagger.

After the fall of the fortress, *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Alí took possession of the treasure, jewels, and valuables which had accumulated there in the course of three or four hundred years from the days of Sikandar Lodí and Bábar Bádshah, and were stowed away in the store-rooms There were the effects of Núr Jahán Begam and Mumtáz Mahal, * * amounting in value, according to various reports, to two or three *krors* of rupees * * There was in particular the sheet of pearls which Sháh Jahán had caused to be made for the tomb of Mumtáz Mahal, which was spread over it upon the anniversary of her marriage, and on Friday nights There was the ewer of Núr Jahán, and her cushion of woven gold and rich pearls, with a border of valuable garnets and emeralds The elder brother, 'Abdu-llah Khán, got nothing of all this, till, after four months, twenty-one *lacs* of rupees were grudgingly surrendered to him.[1]

[1] "The quarrel between the two brothers about the treasures of Ágra was settled by the intervention of Ratan Chand *bakkal*"—*Tazkira-i Chaghatái*

Rájádhiráj (Jai Singh) sent his *vakils* to offer his apologies and make peace. * * It was eventually arranged that the *faujdári* of Surat, in the *súba* of Ahmadábád, should be held by Jai Singh, and the *súbadáris* of Ahmadábád and Ajmír, including Jodpúr, should continue under Rája Ajít Singh Under this arrangement the two *rájas* held all the country from thirty *kos* of Dehlí, where the native land of Jai Singh begins, to the shores of the sea at Surat.

Sháh Jahán the Second died of dysentery and mental disorder, after a reign of three months and some days.

Muhammad Sháh Bádsháh, formerly called Roshan Akhtar, Fourteenth in Descent and Sixteenth[1] in Succession to Amír Tímúr

[Text, vol ii. p 839] Rafí'u-d Daula had reigned only three months and two days when it became known that his death was near at hand. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah was in despair, and he sent from Fathpúr to bring Prince Muhammad Roshan Akhtar, son of the late Jahán Sháh, and grandson of Aurangzeb, then only eighteen years of age. * * Since the death of Jahándár Sháh he had lived with his noble mother in the fort of Dehlí. He was a good-looking young man, with many good qualities, and of excellent intelligence. Rafí'u-d Daula had been dead nearly a week before the young Prince arrived; but the fact was kept secret, and the defunct was buried soon after the arrival. On the 11th Zí-l ka'da, 1131[2] A H. (Sept 1719 A D.), he reached Fathpúr, and on the 15th of that month he ascended the throne * * * Money was struck in the name of Abú-l Muzaffar Násiru-d dín Muhammad Sháh Bádsháh-i Ghází, and his name was read in the *khutba* as Emperor of Hindustán in the mosques His mother was well acquainted with State business, and was a woman of much intelligence and tact. * *

[1] The reigns of his two predecessors were not counted

[2] The *Tazkira-i Chaghatái* is in accord, the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirín* is again a year later See Briggs, p 196

It was settled that the beginning of his reign should date from the deposition of Farrukh Siyar, and should be so entered in the Government records. Fifteen thousand rupees a month were allotted to his mother. The *názirs* and * * all the officers and servants around the Emperor were, as before, the servants of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah When the young Emperor went out for a ride, he was surrounded, as with a halo, by numbers of the Saiyid's trusted adherents, and when occasionally, in the course of two or three months, he went out hunting, or for an excursion into the country, they went with him and brought him back.

[Text, vol ii. p 843] [1] Mír Jumla was appointed to the office of chief judge, and Ratan Chand held firm his position. His authority extended over all civil, revenue, and legal matters, even to the appointment of *kázís* in the cities and other judicial officers All the other Government officials were put in the background, and no one would undertake any business but under a document with his seal

[Text, vol. ii p 842] Chhabílá Rám Nágar, *Súbadár* of Alláhábád, had given uneasiness by his insubordination, and Husain 'Alí Khán prepared to march against him and bring him to order, but news arrived that he was dead. * * After Chhabílá's death, his brother's son Girdhar, who was called his swordsman, set about collecting forces and strengthening the fortifications When this became known, they (the Saiyids) took Muhammad Sháh from Fathpúr to Ágra, and, in preparation for the siege of Alláhábád, orders were given for throwing a bridge over the Jumna, and for the march of a force in advance. * * Girdhar hearing of the preparations for the siege of Alláhabád, sent his *vakils* to make propositions, * * which ended in his being promised the *súbadarí* of Oudh, with other favours, and the title of *Bahádur* * * * But Girdhar placed no reliance on the words and promises of the Saiyids. * * So the fortress was invested, and the siege dragged on a long time. At length Husain 'Alí Khán crossed the Jumna [*to press the siege*].

[1] This paragraph is taken a little in advance to avoid a break in the narrative

The fort of Alláhábád is protected on three sides by the rivers Ganges and Jumna, and Giridhar had worked hard in strengthening the defences, and in collecting provisions and stores of war. The report of his rebellion had caused great excitement in all the exchequer territories and among the great *jágírdárs*. Taking these facts into consideration, it was feared that the protraction of the siege might lead to serious derangements in civil and revenue matters, and the condition of the people in all the *súbas*. The promise of surrendering the fortress had induced Saiyid 'Abdu-llah to return with the Emperor towards Dehlí, * * but when it was known that the promise had not been kept, contrary to all usage, they turned back * * Girdhar had written repeatedly to say that if Ratan Chand were sent to him, some settlement consistent with safety and honour might be made, so that he might leave the fort. The two brothers decided upon deputing Ratan Chand, and he proceeded thither with a suitable escort at the end of Rabí'u-l ákhir, in the second year of the reign.

When Ratan Chand and Girdhar met, an arrangement was made and confirmed by an oath upon the water of the Ganges—a very solemn oath among Hindús. It was agreed that Girdhar should receive, in addition to the *súbadari* of Oudh and the *faujdari* dependent thereon, two or three other important *faujdaris* which he desired to possess. At the beginning of Jumáda-l ákhir he withdrew from the fortress, and proceeded towards Oudh. It has been said that "Laughter ends with weeping, and rejoicing with sorrow" The surrender of Alláhábád was not generally known, * * before Fate brought forth another serious matter.

Decline of the Saiyids and Rise of Nizámu-l Mulk Bahádur Firoz Jang

[Text, vol. ii. p. 847.] Husain 'Alí Khán deemed himself superior in military and government matters to his brother. In

his judgment it seemed that, as there were sufficient administrators with him and his brother, and as his adopted son 'Álam 'Alí was acting (as *súbadár*) in the Dakhin with a sufficient army, it would be well to send Nizámu-l Mulk to be *Súbadár* of Málwá, half-way between Dehlí and the Dakhin. * * * Nizámu-l Mulk accepted the appointment, and received his robe and dismissal to his government on the third day after the accession of Rafí'u-d Daraját. He took with him his wives and children, and there accompanied him more than a thousand companions, *mansabdárs* and *jágirdars*, who were poor and sick at heart with the unkindness shown by the Saiyids, and through pay being in arrear Nizámu-l Mulk busied himself in collecting soldiers and artillery, which are necessary for governing the world and keeping it in order. He gave 500 horses with accoutrements and arms to Muhammad Ghiyás Khán for his Mughal fraternity, and turned them into horsemen. He lent large sums of money to * * and others, binding them to himself by the bonds of debt and kindness.

When Saiyid Husain 'Alí Khán was marching from the Dakhin against Farrukh Siyar, on coming to the Nerbadda, Marhamat Khán, who was in the fort of Shádíábád at Mándú, made an excuse of illness, and did not go out to meet him * * After the death of Farrukh Siyar, the Saiyid appointed Khwája Kulí Khán to succeed him. * * Marhamat Khán resisted. * * Then Husain 'Alí wrote to Nizámu-l Mulk, desiring him to turn Marhamat Khán out of the fort * * After some negociation, Marhamat Khán came out and joined Nizámu-l Mulk.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 850] After the accession of Muhammad Sháh, letters were often sent by him and by his mother, Maryami Makání, through the medium of I'timádu-d daula Muhammad Amín Khán, to Nizámu-l Mulk, informing him that the constraint used by the Saiyids was so strict that he had only liberty to go to service on the Sabbath, and that he had no power of giving any orders; that the Saiyids, in their futile scheming, proposed, after settling the affairs of Nekú Siyar and

Giridhar, to get rid of Nizámu-l Mulk, and then to do as they pleased; that they (Muhammad Sháh and his mother) had full reliance on Nizámu-l Mulk, that he would not fail in the loyalty which his ancestors had ever exhibited.

When Nekú Siyar had been taken prisoner, and peace had been made with Giridhar, Husain 'Alí Khán set other springs of disturbance in action. He made a compact with Maháráo Bhím Singh Háda, that after chastising Sálim Singh, *Zamindár* of Búndí, and settling matters with Nizámu-l Mulk, he would raise Bhím Singh to the high dignity of Mahárája, so that, after Mahárája Ajít Singh, he would be higher in rank than all other Rájas, and that he should receive a *mansab* of 7000 and 7000 horse, with the Fish banner He appointed him, Rája Gaj Singh of Narwar, Diláwar 'Alí Khán, and others, with an army of 15,000 horse, first to punish and expel Sálim Singh of Búndí, and then to direct their attention to Nizámu-l Mulk, and be ready to act upon the directions they might receive

Husain 'Alí Khán, throwing aside the veil, wrote to Nizámu-l Mulk, * * bringing complaints and charges against him Nizámu-l Mulk in his honesty wrote clear answers to every charge; but they did not satisfy Husain 'Alí, and he wrote in plain terms to Nizámu-l Mulk, saying, that for the purpose of arranging the affairs of the Dakhin, he wished to hold the *súba* of Malwá himself, and that he would give Nizámu-l Mulk his choice of the *súbas* of Ágra, Alláhábád, Multán, or Burhánpúr.

Nizámu-l Mulk had employed the interval of eight or nine months in collecting seven or eight thousand horse and materials of war. He was cautious and watchful, and he had formed the design of conquering the Dakhin, and of setting free that land of treasure and of soldiers. He now received notice from his *vakíls* that the Saiyids had sent officers to summon him to the presence. But before these he had received letters from the Emperor and from private friends, telling him there was no time to be lost, and that what he had to do he must do quickly.

Nizámu-l Mulk perceived that the brothers had the fixed intention of overthrowing the royal house and removing the *Khalífa* of the world. Seeing that there were no other means of safety, he consulted with his friends, and setting out from Ujjain, he made three marches towards Ágra, and then turned to the Dakhin. On the 1st of Rajab he crossed the Nerbadda, where he was joined by Rustam Beg Khán, *Faujdár* of Bíjágarh,[1] also called Kahargáon. * * On the same day he crossed the Nerbadda an envoy came from 'Usmán Khán, a soldier (*hazárí*) of the fort of Ásír, proposing to surrender the fortress, * * and on the 16th Rajab he took possession of this important stronghold * * He next sent Muhammad Ghiyás Khán to reduce Burhánpúr. * * * Saiyid 'Álam 'Alí Khán (the acting *súbadar*) sent Muhammad Anwar Khán to defend Burhánpúr, * * but this man was wanting in courage, and gave up in despair Nizámu-l Mulk entered the town on the 17th.

Just before he got possession of Burhánpúr, the children and dependents of Saifu-d dín 'Alí Khán, brother of Husain 'Alí Khán, had come to that place on their way to Dehlí. They were greatly alarmed when Nizámu-l Mulk became master of the city Some of his friends counselled him to seize upon their valuables, [*but he refused*] * * and sent an escort to guard them as far as the Nerbadda He was joined at Burhánpúr by 'Iwaz Khán, Názim of the *súba* of Birár, and by troop after troop of adherents, and he remained there for some time to get his artillery in order

Diláwar 'Alí Khán, after subjugating Búndí, under the direction of Husain 'Alí Khán, as above narrated, marched into Málwá with his army, accompanied by Rája Bhím and Rája Gaj Singh, causing great injury to the country and distress to the inhabitants.

[1] Between the Nerbadda and Táptí, about sixty miles north-west of Burhánpúr

Defeat and Death of Husain Khán Afghán.

[Text, vol ii. p. 861.] Husain Khán Afghán was one of the proud and bold Afgháns of the *sarkár* of Kasúr.[1] For some years past he had occupied himself in rebellion and violence. He had taken possession of some prosperous districts about Kasúr and Láhore, and had raised the standard of revolt. He had several times defeated the armies of the *súbadárs* and the princes; and since the time that 'Abdu-s Samad Khán Diler Jang had been made *Súbadár* of the Panjáb, he had further overstepped the limits of a subject, had turned the officials of the *jágirdárs* and *súbadárs* out, and had seized upon the revenues in a most defiant manner. The author has heard from trustworthy persons that he received letters from the Saiyids at the head of the Government, inciting him to embarrass the *súbadár*, and encouraging the hope of his obtaining for himself the *súbadari* of Láhore At any rate, he grew bolder. He fought with Kutbu-d dín, the *'ámil* of the *súbadár*, killed him, and plundered his army and treasure With eight or nine thousand horse he then set out on a plundering expedition 'Abdu-s Samad Khán, who had begun to raise an army, marched with seven or eight thousand men to attack him, and the armies approached the village of Jhúní, about thirty *kos* from Láhore. [*Long and hard-contested battle*] An arrow at length struck Husain Khán, inflicting a severe wound. His elephant had no driver, and ran about in all directions—a mark for arrows and bullets from every side. Flames burst forth from the *howda*, the cause of which could not be discovered, but in that condition Husain Khán fell under the swords of the brave warriors with a large number of Afgháns. * * On the news of the victory reaching Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, much against his will, but to avoid censure, he lauded the services of 'Abdu-s Samad Khán, and gave him the title of *Saifu-d Daula.*

Letters from Burhánpúr reached the Court with details about

[1] South of Láhore

the fort of Ásír. It appeared that Khusrú, a servant of Nizámu-l Mulk, had introduced himself to the soldiers of the fortress, and carried on a correspondence about its surrender *Nolens volens*, the soldiers coerced Tálib Khán, the commandant appointed by the Saiyids, who was in a great state of dismay, and *made him surrender the fortress to* Nizámu-l Mulk, and give two years' pay to the soldiers. * * Further letters informed them that Anwar Khán, *Súbadár* of Burhánpúr, had joined Nizámu-l Mulk, and that Rambhá Nimbálkar,[1] a famous Mahratta chieftain, had also joined him, both bringing their followers All the officials of Burhánpúr and many of the *zamindárs* of the neighbourhood had taken the same course This information greatly disturbed the Saiyids They wrote pressing letters to Diláwar Khán and Maháráo Bhím Singh, directing them to engage Nizámu-l Mulk. Every day and every week Saiyid Husain 'Alí brought forward new plans for proceeding to the Dakhin, and he waited anxiously for letters from Diláwar Khán Ratan Chand, seeing how matters were tending, advised a peace and the surrender of the *súbas* of the Dakhin to Nizámu-l Mulk, for he saw that war would end in the Saiyids' death But Husain 'Alí would not consent to any peace with Nizámu-l Mulk.

Religious Troubles in Kashmír.

[vol ii p 867] Mahbúb Khán, otherwise called 'Abdu-n Nabí Kashmírí, had a long-standing enmity against the Hindús in Kashmír He had gathered round him many restless Muhammadans, with whom he went to the deputy of the *súbadár* and to the *kázi*, and, presenting certain legal opinions, he demanded that the Hindús should be interdicted from riding on horses, from wearing coats (*jáma*), from putting on turbans and armour (*chíra o yarák*), from going out for excursions in the fields and gardens, and from bathing on certain days. Upon this matter he was very virulent The officials, in answer, said

[1] "Bimálkar" in the Text.

that they would act upon the rules laid down by the Emperor, and by the chief lawyers, in respect of the treatment of *zimmis* (protected unbelievers) throughout the provinces of the Empire Mahbúb Khán was greatly offended, and, being supported by a party of Musulmáns, he annoyed and insulted Hindús wherever he met them. A Hindú could not pass through any market or street without being subjected to indignity.

One day Majlis Ráí, a respected Hindú of Kashmír, went out with a party to ramble in the fields and gardens, and they feasted Brahmans. Mahbúb Khán collected ten or twelve thousand Musulmáns, came upon them unawares, and began to beat, bind and kill them Majlis Ráí escaped, and fled with some others to Ahmad Khán Mahbúb Khán, with all his followers, went to the house of Majlis Ráí and the Hindú quarter, and began to plunder and to fire the houses The Hindús and Musulmáns who interfered to prevent this were killed and wounded. After that they proceeded to the house of Mír Ahmad Khán, where they set to work beating, throwing stones and bricks, and shooting arrows and bullets. Every man they found they detained and subjected to various indignities Some they killed, others they wounded and plundered Mír Ahmad Khán for a day and night was unable to drive them from his house or to stop their violence, but had to employ many artifices to escape from them Next day he got together a force, and, with Mír Sháhúr Khán Bakhshí and other officials, they took horse and went against Mahbúb Khán The rioters collected, as on the preceding day, and resisted Ahmad Khán A party got in his rear and burnt the bridge over which he had crossed. They set fire to both sides of the street through which he had passed, and from in front and from the roofs and walls of the houses they discharged arrows and muskets and cast stones and bricks. Women and children flung filth, dirt, and whatever they could lay hands on A fierce fight continued, in which * * and several others were killed or wounded. Mír Ahmad Khán was in a great strait, for he could neither retire nor advance; so he

was obliged to ask for mercy, and escaped from his dangerous position amid volleys of gibes and insults.

Mahbúb Khán proceeded to the Hindú quarter, and burnt and gutted the houses which remained. Again he proceeded to the house of Mír Ahmad Khán, and dragged out of it with insult Majlis Rái and a number of other persons who had taken refuge there. He and his followers cut off their ears and noses, circumcised them, and in some instances cut off the organ of generation. Another day they went tumultuously to the great mosque, degraded Mír Ahmad Khán from his office of deputy of the *súbadár*, and, having given the prime cause of the disturbance the title of Díndár Khán, they appointed him to act as ruler of the Musulmáns, and to enforce the commands of the law and the decisions of the *kázís* until a new deputy *súbadár* should come from the Court For five months Mír Ahmad Khán was deprived of power, and remained in retirement Díndár Khán acted as ruler, and, taking his seat in the mosque, discharged the Government business.

Upon intelligence of this outbreak reaching Court, Múmin Khán was sent to act as deputy of 'Ináyatu-llah Khán, the *Súbadár* * * At the end of Shawwál he halted three *kos* from Kashmír Mahbúb Khán was ashamed of his unrighteous deeds, so he went to Khwája 'Abdu-llah, who was highly respected in Kashmír, and begged him to go out with a number of the principal and most respectable Muhammadans to meet the new deputy, and bring him into the city with honour. * * Khwája 'Abdu-llah advised him in a friendly way to go to Mír Sháhúr Khán *Bakhshi*, and apologize for what had passed If he did so, they would go out with him to meet the deputy In accordance with this advice, Mahbúb Khán went to the house of Sháhúr Khán, and having made a statement to him, rose to depart, alleging he had some necessary business to attend to. The *bakhshi*, acting on the Khwája's advice, had called a number of the people from the Charbelí and Kahkarán quarters of the city, and concealed them about his house. They watched for Mahbúb

Khán, and fell upon him unawares. First, before his eyes, they ripped up the bellies of his two young boys, who always accompanied him, and they killed him with great cruelty

Next day the Musulmáns went to the Charbelí quarter, to exact retaliation for blood. This quarter was inhabited by *Shí'as*. There they began to beat, to bind, to kill, and to burn the houses. For two days the fight was kept up, but the assailants then prevailed Two or three thousand people who were in that quarter, including a large number of Mughal travellers, were killed with their wives and families Property to the value of *lacs* was plundered, and the war raged for two or three days. It is impossible to commit to writing all that I have heard about this outbreak After this destruction, the rioters went to the houses of the *kází* and the *bakhshi*. Sháhúr Khán concealed himself and the *kazi* escaped in disguise. They pulled down the *kazi's* house to the foundations, and carried the bricks of it away in their hands. Múmin Khán, after entering the city, sent Mír Ahmad Khán under an escort to Ímanábád, and then had to take severe measures with the people of Kashmír

Nizámu-l Mulk.

[Text, vol ii p 873] Diláwar 'Alí Khán, *bakhshi* of Husain 'Alí Khán, who had been sent with six or seven thousand horse against the Rája of Búndí, having hastily increased them to twelve or thirteen thousand, crossed the Nerbadda. Various rumours reached Nizámu-l Mulk, and according to one, Diláwar 'Alí Khán had reached Håndiyá Nizámu-l Mulk prepared to encounter him The plan of 'Álam 'Alí Khán (the acting *súbadar*) was to enlist as many Mahrattas as he could, to gather together the great *faujdárs*, and to march from Aurangábád as soon as he heard of the near approach of Dilávar 'Alí Khán. Nizámu-l Mulk would thus be placed between two armies. * *

[Text, vol ii. p 875] Nizámu-l Mulk, on receiving intelligence that 'Álam 'Alí Khán had taken the field, marched from Burhánpúr to oppose him. He crossed the Táptí and encamped

towards the east. When he heard of the advance of Diláwar 'Alí Khán, he resolved to meet him first. He sent his family to the fort of Ásír, and then began his march against the enemy. On arriving within two or three *kos* of Ratanpúr, and sixteen or seventeen from Burhánpúr, he encamped about two *kos* distance from his adversary. To avoid shedding the blood of Musulmáns, he sent conciliatory messages to Diláwar 'Alí, deprecating battle, but without effect. On the 16th Sha'bán, 1132 A.H. (11th May, 1720), both sides drew out their forces for the struggle. [*Dispositions for and progress of the battle*.] Diláwar 'Alí Khán, mounted on an elephant, fought resolutely, * * but he was struck by a musket-ball and killed. The army of the Bárhas then turned to flee, but the *Rájpúts*, Rája Bhím, and Rája Gaj Singh disdained to escape, and fought with great valour. They and three or four hundred other *Rajpúts*, many Bárha Saiyid officers and others, altogether four or five thousand men, were killed. The day after the battle, intelligence came that 'Álam 'Alí Khán had arrived at the tank of Hartála, seventeen *kos* from Burhánpúr. Nizámu-l Mulk sent Mutawasal Khán with a force of three thousand horse to protect the city and the people.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 882.] When the news of the defeat and death of Diláwar 'Alí Khán reached the Saiyid brothers, it greatly disturbed and perplexed them. Every day some new plan was formed. Now it was proposed that both should go to the Dakhin, and take the Emperor with them. Then that Saiyid Husain 'Alí should go to the Dakhin and that Saiyid 'Abdu-llah should proceed to Dehlí with the Emperor. * * Every week and every month the tents of the Emperor and of the two brothers moved in different directions, and their councils were distracted.

Earthquake.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 883.] On the 2nd of Ramazán, 1132 A.H. (27th June, 1720), on Friday, during prayers at the mosques, a

fearful earthquake was felt. A noise under the earth was heard, doors and walls shook and roofs rattled. During the day and night nine shocks were felt. It was reported that parts of the fort and many houses were thrown down, and that great numbers of persons were killed in Sháhjahánábád and old Dehlí. The writer of these leaves went out on horseback to see and ascertain for himself. * * He found houses destroyed here and there, parts of the ramparts thrown down and damaged, two gates of the city injured, the parapets of the Fathpúrí mosque damaged, and ten or twelve persons killed and wounded. It was very wonderful that for a month and two days the shocks continued, and were felt four or five times in the twenty-four hours. Many persons were so alarmed that they would not sleep under a roof After this time the force of the shocks decreased, but for four or five months the earth and the houses were found to shake occasionally, until the arrival of the blessed feet of His Majesty, when the shocks gradually ceased.

[Text, vol ii. p 885] On the 1st Zí-l ka'da it was determined that His Majesty should go with Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán to Dehlí, and that Husain 'Alí Khán should proceed with a number of warlike *amírs* to the Dakhin. It was now that a quarrel arose between the Saiyids and I'timádu-d daula This caused a great feeling of alarm for some days, and it was so much talked about that I'timádu-d daula and the braves of Túrán remained under arms night and day.

Defeat and Death of 'A'lam Khan

[Text, vol ii. p. 885] Intelligence now arrived that 'A'lam 'Alí Khán and many of his officers had been killed The author has not obtained exact information of this matter; but he will relate what he has gathered from different accounts given to him by trustworthy men.

After the death of Diláwar 'Alí Khán two or three thousand

Bárha horse * * were glad to make their escape to 'Álam Khán. This officer, when he heard that Diláwar Khán was approaching, went out of Aurangábád (to join him) with thirty thousand horse. He had reached the pass of Fardápúr, half-way to Burhánpúr, and was engaged in getting his artillery through, when he received the unwelcome news. Several of the Mahratta *sardárs* and his own associates advised him to return to Aurangábád, or to go to Ahmadnagar, and await the coming of Husain 'Alí Khán. Under the protection of the walls he might enlist men, and carry on the war with discretion, while the Mahrattas might be sent out to ravage and plunder in the vicinity of Nizámu-l Mulk's army, and to carry on that Cossack warfare for which the people of the Dakhin are so famous.

'Álam 'Alí Khán, in his pride, paid no heed to these counsels, but went down with his whole force After the defeat of Dilawar 'Alí Khán, Nizámu-l Mulk went and encamped at Burhánpúr When he heard of 'Álam 'Alí Khán's approach, he sent to him the coffins of Dilawar 'Alí Khán and Saiyid Sher Khán, and he wrote a few words of noble advice for 'Álam Khán to send to his two uncles, deprecating any further shedding of the blood of Musulmáns But this had no effect Nizámu-l Mulk then marched from Burhánpúr to the river Púrná, sixteen or seventeen *kos* west of that city 'Álam 'Alí Khán was encamped near the tank of Hartála, close to the Púrná Continuous rain, mire and mud, the flood of waters and the want of boats, prevented both armies from crossing the river, and compelled them to wait awhile Nizámu-l Mulk, to change his ground, escape the mire, and find a ford, made a move of two *kos* in the direction of Birár, and encamped on the bank of the river, until, through the guidance of the *zamindárs*, and the exertions of 'Iwaz Khán, a ford was discovered fourteen or fifteen *kos* away in the direction of Bálápúr

In the middle of Ramazán, Nizámu-l Mulk crossed the river with his whole army. This passage was looked upon as a good omen, and inspirited his men. 'Álam 'Alí Khán was disturbed

when he heard of the crossing; but he set his forces in motion to meet his adversary Nizámu-l Mulk waited a day to allow the rear of his army and his baggage to cross In some places the water was up to the waist, in others to the breast, but all got over in safety without loss to life or property. Next day he marched to fix upon a position in which to give battle He encamped at Síúgánw, in the *súba* of Burhánpúr [*where his army suffered greatly from heavy rain, want of provisions, and the skirmishing of the Mahrattas*] At length the rain ceased awhile, and he marched to a ruined village three *kos* from Bálápúr.

The Mahrattas were very daring and troublesome, and 'Iwaz Khán, Muhammad Ghiyás Khán, and Rambhá Nimbálkar were sent to punish them. A fight ensued, in which the Mahrattas were put to flight, and a great spoil of mares, spears, etc, fell into the hands of the victors Sufficiency of fodder and grain not being procurable, another march was necessary, and they had to bury some heavy guns, which the mud and the weakness of the bullocks prevented them from moving After remaining three days to rest and recruit near Bálápúr, where sufficient grain was found, on the 5th Shawwál the army marched to the chosen battle-field, two or three *kos* distant

Nizámu-l Mulk made his disposition of his forces * * 'Álam Khán also made his arrangements. * * On his side were Santájí Sindhia, Khándují Daphárіya *Senapati*, Sankarájí Malhár, Kánújí, and other Mahrattas of repute, on the part of Rája Sáhú, with seventeen or eighteen thousand men, who all called themselves faithful adherents of Husain 'Alí Khán * * On the 6th Shawwál, 1132 A.H (1st August, 1720 A D), the battle was fought * * 'Álam 'Alí Khán received a severe wound, but for all that he kept the field * * The elephant which carried him, unable to bear any longer the arrows and sword-cuts that he received, turned tail. 'Álam 'Alí Khán, dripping with blood from his wounds, turned his face towards the army of Nizámu-l Mulk, and cried out that the elephant had turned his back, but he had not All his own arrows were exhausted, but such of

the enemy's arrows as struck his face, or his body, or his *howda*, he quickly pulled out and returned. He received so many wounds in succession that he sank under them, and sacrificed his life for his uncles. He was only twenty-two years of age, but he was distinguished by all the determination and bravery of the Bárha Saiyids Seventeen or eighteen other men of renown, riders upon elephants, fell in the battle, with a large number of inferior men After the defeat Amín Khán, * * and other men of standing came over and joined Nizámu-l Mulk. Sankarájí, one of Rája Sáhú's ministers (*madár*), was wounded and made prisoner. The elephants and guns fell into the hands of Nizámu-l Mulk, the rest was all plundered Of the victorious army * * very few were killed or wounded * * The wives and dependents of Husain 'Alí Khán, who were at Aurangábád, went with their property and belongings into the fort of Aurangábád * * Mubáriz Khán, *Súbadár* of Haidarábád, and Diláwar Khán, his fast friend, with six or seven thousand horse, joined Nizámu-l Mulk.

Ministerial Arrangements.

[Text, vol. ii p 897] After much deliberation the two Saiyids determined that 'Abdu-llah Khán should proceed to Dehlí and stay there, and that Husain 'Alí Khán, in attendance upon the Emperor, and accompanied by a number of the chief *amírs* and an army, should go to the Dakhin and take revenge of Nizámu-l Mulk The Saiyids determined upon raising one hundred thousand men, and they sent money with *parwánas* and contracts (*kaul*) to summon the muster-masters (*jamá'dars*) of the Bárhas and the Afgháns There was a strong disinclination to entering the service of the two brothers, and the *amírs* who were to accompany Husain 'Alí Khán had received orders to raise squadrons, so men and horses were very scarce. The *jamá'dars* far and near had noticed the declining fortunes of the two Saiyids, and they were unwilling to go to the Dakhin, so the desired army was not raised. But nearly 50,000 horse, old

soldiers and recruits, and Emperor's men, were raised, and they hoped also to assemble the men of Bárha, and the contingents of the *rájas* and the *samíndárs* of the provinces With this army, with a powerful train of artillery, and many warlike *amírs* and gentlemen, Husain 'Alí sent them on the march for the Dakhin at the end of Shawwál. Having himself marched two *kos* out of Ágra, on the 1st Zí-l ka'da he dismissed Saiyid Khán-Jahán from the command of the artillery, and appointed Haidar Kulí Khán in his place. * * Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán proceeded towards Dehlí. * *

There was a number of persons, old servants, attendants and officials of the two brothers, especially of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, who through them had risen to great honour and prosperity. But the infamous murder of the martyr Emperor (Farrukh Siyar), the sight of the indignities which the Emperor, the representative of the House of Tímúr, had to endure, and the fact of the administration being under the direction of a base-born shopkeeper (Ratan Chand), had, under the guidance of the Converter of Hearts, so changed their feelings, that some of them often said, "Although we know that we shall suffer many hardships through the downfall of the Bárhas, still we hope that, through the blindness of its ill-wishers, the House of Tímúr may again acquire splendour." Some of the relations and officials of the two brothers often offered up their prayers to God, and said, "The end of the lives of the two brothers, who have no children, is evident; but woe to all Bárha Saiyids, for we know what evil awaits our children through the misdeeds of these two men!"

Death of Amíru-l umará Husain 'Alí Khán Bárha by the Sword of Retributive Justice

[Text, vol. ii. p. 901.] When Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, on the 7th Zí-l hijja, had reached a stage forty *kos* from Dehlí, a camel express arrived, despatched by Ghairat Khán *(sic)*, with a letter from Ratan Chand, announcing the slaughter of Husain

'Alí Khán, Ghairat Khán, and Núru-llah Khán. The facts of this strange and marvellous matter are these. When the representatives of the House of Tímúr lost the control of the State, the great and the small of all classes were disgusted with the arrogance of the two brothers, and by the fact of the general control of civil and revenue affairs being under the direction of Ratan Chand. For excepting men of Bárha and the shop-keeping class, no one found any favour. The nobility of every province carried on their existence in disgrace and distrust. I'timádu-d daula Muhammad Amín Khán Chín Bahádur was convinced that, notwithstanding his covenants and protestations, Husain 'Alí Khán would, whenever it suited his designs, perform his engagements in the same way as he had kept them with the late martyr Emperor, Farrukh Siyar. So I'timádu-d daula was always scheming the overthrow of the Bárhas, but he did not think it prudent to seek assistance of his friends and acquaintances in this dangerous project

Sa'ádat Khán, otherwise called Mír Muhammad Amín, a Saiyid of Naishapúr, * * a close and trusted friend of I'timádu-d daula, joined heartily in the plot, and so also did the artilleryman Haidar Khán Káshgharí, a Chaghatáí Turk, descended from Mír Haidar, the author of the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*[1] He bore the hereditary title of "Sword-bearer." * * * All these three were agreed upon cutting the thread of Husain 'Alí Khán's life, and bound themselves together to effect their purpose, and to keep their design secret to themselves. So strict were they in their secrecy, that neither the Emperor, nor Kamru-d dín Khán, son of I'timádu-d daula, knew anything of it Excepting the mother of the Emperor, and Sadru-n nisá, a protegée *(dastgirifta)* of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, no one knew anything of the plot.

On the 6th Zí-l hijja, in the second year of the reign, the royal army was encamped at Tora, thirty-five *kos* from Fathpúr

[1] *Suprà*, Vol V p. 127.

I'timádu-d daula having accompanied the Emperor to his tent, made a show of being unwell, and retired to the tent of Haidar Kulí Khán. When the Emperor entered his private apartments, Husain 'Alí Khán also retired. As he reached the gate of the royal inclosure, Mír Haidar Khán, who had a speaking acquaintance with him, approached. Washing his hands of life, he placed a written statement in the hands of Husain 'Alí Khán, and complained of I'timádu-d daula while his victim read it. When Mír Haidar found him off his guard, he stabbed Husain 'Alí in the side with a dagger, and this one wound despatched him. Núru-llah Khán, son of Asadu-llah Khán, and nephew of the murdered man, accompanied his *pálki* on foot He cut down Mír Haidar Khán with his sword It is said that Mír Mushrif then came up and finished him. He also killed another Mughal, and was wounded himself, but escaped alive Mughals assembled from every side, who killed Núru-llah, and having cut off the head of Husain 'Alí, carried it as an offering to the Emperor The eunuch, Makbúl Khán, *násir* of the Saiyids, fought strenuously, and so severely wounded two or three of the assailants, that they died a few days afterwards A water-carrier and a sweeper of Husain 'Alí Khán showed great devotion and courage. Raising loud cries, they fell sword in hand upon the crowd, cut their way through, and got into the oratory, where they fell under many balls and arrows discharged by the Mughals

Mustafá Khán, *bakhshi* of Muhkam Singh, had with him a party of his master's men. When he heard of the affray with Husain 'Alí, without ascertaining the fact, or giving information to Muhkam Singh, he went to the gate of the royal inclosure. The crowd was so great that he could not get in, but in another part he broke into the *díwan-i khåss*, and entered sword in hand uttering cries. They fought fiercely, but two or three fell severely wounded under the balls and arrows of the Mughals, and the rest made their escape. Some of the artillerymen of Husain 'Alí Khán gathered round the royal tents, and began to fire muskets and *rámchangís*. 'Izzat Khán, nephew of Husain

'Alí, had gone to his tent and had loosened his belt to eat bread. When he heard the startling news, he was roused to the highest pitch.[1] Without waiting to collect the scattered soldiers, but displaying all his resolution, he instantly mounted an elephant, and went with four or five hundred horsemen towards the royal quarters

Haidar Kulí Khán Bahádur, notwithstanding the information given to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, had not been from the first a participator in the conspiracy formed for taking revenge of Husain 'Alí, but he saw that the Emperor had no power in the government of the State, and that everything was directed by Ratan Singh, and other vile infidels. The two Saiyids, the real rulers, thought themselves masters of the pen and masters of the sword in Hindústán, and as opposed to their judgment and the swords of the Bárhas, the Mughals of Írán and of Túrán were as nobodies They did not remember that these Mughals had come a thousand or two thousand miles from their native countries, and that by their courage and sound judgment the wide realm of Hindústán, with its great kings and famous *rájas*, had by hard fighting been won for the Emperor Bábar. For two hundred years they had lived in the favour of the House of Tímúr, and they now felt the ignominy of seeing their Emperor without any power in his own State Pride, courage, and honour, continually spurred this lion-hearted noble to make an end of this state of things, and to take revenge. But he waited for the day to come.

Now that it had pleased Heaven to exact vengeance, and to befriend the young inheritor of the throne, he stepped boldly forward, ready to show his loyalty and devotion in vigorous action When the noise of contention rose high in every quarter, Sa'ádat Khán, under the direction of Haidar Kulí Khán and the orders of I'timádu-d daula, obeyed them and the dictates of his own courage He went boldly into the inner

[1] Lit "the world became dark in his eyes"

apartment, where the Emperor had retired. He got there just at the time when the partisans of the two brothers were raging with violent designs against His Majesty. The Nawáb Kudsiya (the Emperor's mother), in her motherly love, forbad the entrance of the brave Sa'ádat Khán Assuring the inmates against harm from their enemies, he threw a shawl over his face and went boldly in; then with the utmost devotion he took the hand of the Emperor and led him out. I'timádu-d daula mounted him on his own elephant, and sat behind him as his attendant.

On the arrival of the Emperor at the chief gate, the soldiers and guards and the *amirs* had gone to their own abodes, according to their custom every day. The noise of the struggle had frightened away many men well disposed and ill disposed; the royal elephants and horses and the *amirs* were dispersed. Muhammad Amín Khán Chín (I'timádu-d daula), Kamru-d dín Khan, forty or fifty Mughals, and some gunners, altogether amounting to a hundred or two hundred men, were all that were present to form the Emperor's retinue. Haidar Kulí Khán sent for the elephants and horses of the royal equipage, and to summon the men of the artillery With the limited band of devoted men who were round the royal presence, and with the aid of Kamru-d dín Khán and Sa'ádat Khán, he awaited the onslaught of that raging lion of the Bárhas, 'Izzat Khán.

The noise of the strife rose high. On one side the braves of Bárha rushed boldly into the fray, on the other the valiant men of Írán and Túrán came from every side eager for the fight. * * * Plunderers began to pillage the *bázárs* and stores, and set fire to the tents of Husain 'Alí, but victory inclined to the royal side Samsámu-d daula Khán-daurán Bahádur Mansúr-Jang arrived with his followers and joined in the fight. * * * 'Izzat Khán, who had already received two wounds from arrows, was struck by a musket-bullet and killed. The partisans of the Bárhas then fled, and on every side shouts arose proclaiming the victory of Muhammad Sháh. * *

After His Majesty had returned, Haidar Kulí Khán sent for Muhkam Singh, promising him the royal pardon and favour, with a *mansab* of 6000, ultimately raised to 7000. I'timádu-d daula sent several kind messages to Ratan Chand, who, vainly hoping to save his life and honour, descended from his proud elephant and went off much frightened in a *pálki* towards the royal quarters. A mob of Mughals, vagabonds of the markets, and idlers, who were as full of fury at his oppressive actions as the seeds of a pomegranate are full of blood, fell upon him, dragged him from the *pálki*, beat him with sticks, punched him, kicked him, tore the clothes from his body, and stripped him stark naked. They then carried him to I'timádu-d daula, of whom he begged for protection, and that noble gave him some clothes, and ordered him to be put in a collar and in chains. Ráí Siroman Dás, a Káyat by caste, and an old agent of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, made the best use of his opportunity in the strife, shaved off his beard and whiskers, marked his forehead with ashes, and assuming the appearance of a *fakír*, he left his furniture to be plundered, carried off some money and valuables and hid himself for some days in the tent of his friend, until he managed to escape and join Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. * *

The corpses of Husain 'Alí Khán, 'Izzat Khán, and Núru-llah Khán, were placed in coffins covered with gold brocade, and after the funeral service was read over them they were sent to be buried at Ajmír, near the tomb of 'Abdu-llah Khán.[1] The common report is that Saiyid 'Abdu-llah repeatedly stated in public that no bearers were found to carry the coffins, that the covers of the coffins were stolen, and that the coffins remained lying on the ground, and were not buried. Common report says that they were eventually buried at Ajmír. * *

[Vol. ii. p. 911.] The *mansab* of I'timádu-d daula was increased to eight thousand and eight thousand *do-aspahs*. He received a *kror* and fifty *lacs* of rupees as *in'ám*, and was ap-

[1] "Commonly called Mia Khán, the founder of the family."—*Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirín.*

pointed *wazír*, with the addition to his titles of *Wazíru-l mamálik Zafar-Jang*. Samsámu-d daula was made *bakhshí*, with an increase to 7000 and 7000 horse, and the title of *Amíru-l umará*. Kamru-d dín Khán was made second *bakhshí* and *dárogha* of the *ghusl-khána*. He was named to other offices, and he received an increase of 1000 with 1000 horse. Haidar Kulí Khán received an increase to 6000 and 6000 horse, *do-aspahs* and *yak-aspahs*, and he was entitled *Násir Jang*. Sa'ádat Khán was advanced to 5000 and 5000 horse, with the title of *Sa'ádat Khan Bahádur*, and the privilege of kettle-drums. Zafar Khán, and every one of the old adherents and of the new corps of *Wálá-sháhís*, received liberal rewards according to their services and deserts

Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán was greatly distressed by the grievous news of his brother's death, and his eyes filled with tears, but he knew that there was no remedy but resignation Thinking that there was nothing to be gained by delay, he proceeded on his journey to Dehlí. On the arrival of the mournful news, some of his friends advised him to hasten with all speed and heat (against the Emperor), before he was joined by the provincial troops, and before the forces of Husain 'Alí were won over But Saiyid 'Abdu-llah did not approve of this course He knew the Emperor was firmly established, while his own army was dispirited, and it was very inexpedient to march against the enemy without *toras*[1] He thought it best to proceed to Dehlí, there to assemble soldiers and win the support of the *amírs*. So he went on to Dehlí.

As the news (of Husain 'Alí's death) spread, the Mewáttís and the turbulent *zamíndars* rose up and gathered round Saiyid 'Abdu-llah on every side They attacked the baggage and tents in the rear, and plundered whatever they could lay hands on. A

[1] This word here seems to have a more general meaning than that given to it by the dictionaries See note in Vol IV p 261 Pavet de Courteille, in his *Dictionnaire Turk Oriental*, says, "Pièces de bois et de fer qu'on relie ensemble avec des chaînes et des crochets et derrière lesquelles s'abritent les soldats"

detachment of the discouraged army was sent against them, but without success. A party of men who were with the Saiyid's tent equipage were killed along with their commanding officers A convoy that was coming from Dehlí, with property belonging to Husain 'Alí Khán, was attacked at the *sarái* of Jahána, two or three *kos* from Saiyid 'Abdu-llah's army, and it and the property and the wives of the men all fell into the hands of the marauders

In the *jágírs* belonging to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and in those of all the Saiyids, and of the officials and collectors of the two brothers, wherever the news came, the rent-paying *raiyats* and the turbulent *zamíndárs* seized the opportunity and turned out the collectors of the *jágírdárs*. Before order was restored in the State, the produce of the *kharíf* harvest had for the most part gone into the hands of the *raiyats*

Saiyid 'Abdu-llah sent Shujá'at 'Alí Khán and Murtazá Khán to the capital, and he also wrote to Najmu-d dín 'Alí Khán, *Súbadár* of Dehlí, for the purpose of raising soldiers On the 8th Zí-l hijja the news reached Najmu-d dín But before the news became public, he first put forth a statement the opposite of the information he had received, and sent a body of men, horse and foot, under the Kotwál, to the house of I'timádu-d daula, and the work of investing it went on for a watch or two of the night. The people in the house, who had received news beforehand, threw up defences and showed themselves resolved to defend it The news spread and became the common talk in every street and market.

A letter now came from Saiyid 'Abdu-llah forbidding all injury to the family and establishment of I'timádu-d daula, or else the *Subadár* thought better of his futile proceeding and recalled his men On the day of the *'Íd-i kurban* Najmu-d dín 'Alí Khán went in tears to the prayers, and when he returned he sent the envoys of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán to the residence of the sons of Jahándár Sháh, to make provision for the government of the State. The young men had the door shut against the envoys

Murtazá Khán and Shujá'atu-llah Khán; but after a good deal of pressing, they admitted them and asked the reason of their coming; and when they were informed of it, they gave a sharp answer, flatly refusing. It is reported that after the envoys returned unsuccessful, they went to Nekú Siyar, and received the same answer. Next they went to Sultán Ibráhím, son of Rafi'u-sh Shán, and urged him to accept the proposition, saying that his acceptance would save the lives of the party of the Saiyids. After some conversation he consented

Elevation of Sultán Muhammad Ibráhím by way of loan[1] *('áriyat)*

[Text, vol ii p. 914] On the 9th Zí-l hijja, 1132 (1st October, 1720 A D), Sultán Muhammad Ibráhím was raised to the throne with the title of Abú-l Fath Zahíru-d dín Muhammad Ibráhím Two days afterwards Saiyid 'Abdu-llah arrived and paid his homage He received the title of *Gházíu-d dín Ghálib Jang*, the position of *Amíru-l umará* with the duties of *Mír-bakhshí*, and a *mansab* of 8000. Najmu-d dín Khán was made second *bakhshí*, Salábat Khán third *bakhshí*, and Bairam Khán fourth, each one obtaining an advance in rank. A number of courtiers of the time of Rafi'u-d Daraját, who were in confinement, or had no *mansabs*, or despaired of promotion, were sent for and received *mansabs* and sums of money for their expenses. They were directed to enlist horsemen at the rate of eighty rupees per month for each man, and a sum of thirty or forty thousand rupees was advanced for this purpose. Hámid Khán Bahádur, uncle of Nizámu-l Mulk, who was deprived of his *jagír* when the war with the latter broke out, was restored to it, and received a sum of money. I'tikád Khán and * * other nobles of Farrukh Siyar's days all received favours, and had expectations held out to them [*Enlistment of horsemen.*]

[vol ii p 917] On the 17th Zí-l hijja Saiyid 'Abdu-llah came out of Dehlí with Sultán Ibráhím and went to the *'I'd-gah.*

[1] For a temporary purpose

Here he was joined by Ghulám 'Alí Khán from the royal army, by Tahawwur 'Alí Khán from Ágra, and by others. * * Intelligence arrived that the Emperor Muhammad Sháh, being freed from all trouble about Husain 'Alí Khán, was marching to the capital by the Rájpút road. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah made his second and third march towards the *dargáh* of Kutbu-d dín; but when he heard of the Emperor's march from Ágra, he took the road to Farídábád, where he waited in expectation of Saifu-d dín 'Alí Khán and others with their Bárha soldiers. A very extraordinary fact was that, notwithstanding the large outlay of money, the royal domestics and officials in the train of Sultán Ibráhím rode horses with no saddles At every stage parties of Bárha soldiers, Afghâns with their troops, and *zamindárs* on elephants, joined the army of Sultán Ibráhím. Soldiers of Husain 'Alí Khán, who had entered the service of Muhammad Sháh and received a month's pay, deserted when they found an opportunity, and came over every day in parties of three or four hundred to join Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. Such was the eagerness to enter the service that one horse *(yábú)* would receive the *dágh* (brand) two or three times

Sultán Ibráhím reached Niyúl, thirty-five *kos* from Dehlí Here he was joined by Saifu-d dín 'Alí Khán, brother of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and others, who had been sent by Husain 'Alí Khán to raise forces in the neighbourhood of Bárha They brought with them altogether ten or twelve thousand horse, also 150 carts full of Bárha Saiyids, each of whom thought himself equal to twenty well-accoutred horsemen, and had come in the expectation of making himself an *amír*, an elephant-rider, and a general. Each of these demanded one year's pay, a horse, and a robe * * On the 10th Muharram, 1133 (1st Nov. 1720 A.D), as the author has ascertained from the rolls of the *Bakhshí*, and as he heard from the mouth of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, more than 90,000 horsemen had been entered in the lists Of these fourteen or fifteen thousand perhaps were recruits, who rode ponies *(yábú)*, some of the old soldiers were dispersed about the vicinity, and

the remainder were present. Afterwards there were the followers of the traitor Chúráman, of Muhkam Singh, and sundry other of the adherents of Husain 'Alí Khán, and the *zamíndárs* of the neighbourhood. According to report, the number exceeded 100,000 horse All around as far as the eye could reach the earth seemed covered with horsemen.

Chúráman Ját arrived with his brother, bringing three elephants and several camels, that he had cut off from the royal army These were offered as an introduction to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, who gave them to that good-for-nothing fellow (Chúráman). One matter of great discouragement to the old followers of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and of favourable influence on the fortunes of the Emperor, was this. Notwithstanding all the lavish distribution of the money, which had been collected by carts full from house to house, and which had been extorted in bribery or with violence by Ratan Chand from the wretched *raiyats*, and laid up for a time like this, when it would be spent in vain ,—notwithstanding all this, the old soldiers wanted two months' pay in advance, that they might free themselves from their liabilities to the bankers, and provide themselves with warm clothing, arms, and harness They were satisfied with the promise of one month's pay, and at last money for the pay of ten days of Muharram was somehow raised, but they could not get the balance It was very different in the royal army, where Haidar Kulí Khán *Bahádur Násir Jang* had won the hearts of the artillerymen by exerting himself to the best of his ability to obtain the settlement of their pay.

On the 19th Muharram the royal army encamped at Sháhpúr. * * The army was not half as numerous as that of the enemy, and it waited for the arrival of Saifu-d daula, 'Abdu-s Samad Khán Bahádur *Diler Jang*, and Rájádhiráj Jai Singh But although intelligence of their approach was brought, distance and other obstacles delayed their arrival. Muhammad Khán Bangash came in with two or three thousand horse 'Azíz Khán Rohilla, Sábit Khán, and Báyazíd Khán Mewátti joined with their forces, and three or four thousand horse arrived from

Rája Jai Singh. Some *zamindárs* of the country round also joined. * * Two or three leading men, who deemed it expedient to stay with the royal army, such as Muhkam Singh and other protegés of the two brothers, kept up a correspondence with Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, assuring him that they would join him at the proper time. The wretched Chúráman Ját, who belonged to a race of traitors, * * communicated with Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, who urged him to set fire to the powder magazine, or to make a dash and bring the artillery bullocks over to him The rascal did his best to accomplish this, but he was foiled by the vigilance of Haidar Kulí Khán.

Battle between Muhammad Sháh and Saiyid 'Abdu-llah.

[Text, vol ii. p 921] [*Dispositions made of the officers and forces on both sides.*] On the 12th Muharram 'Abdu-llah Khán's forces encamped at Husainpúr, three *kos* from the Imperial army, and made arrangements for battle But there were such contentions among the officers, who were unwilling to serve under the orders of each other, that a proper disposition with right and left wings could not be made. Each chief raised his standard where he chose, and would not consent to obey any other. * * On the 17th of the month, during the night, Muhkam Singh, Khudádád Khán, and Khán Mirzá, with seven or eight hundred horse, deserted the Royal army, and joined that of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. * * Muhammad Sháh mounted his elephant to take the field; but as he did so, he ordered that the head of the vile Ratan Chand, who had been the chief cause of the unpopularity of the Saiyids, should be struck from his filthy body, so that the world might be gladdened by being cleansed from his polluting existence. So his head was cut off and thrown as a propitious omen before the feet of the Emperor's elephant. The royal forces were then set in motion * * The deadly fire of the royal artillery so shook the new recruits in the enemy's army, that some of the pony-riders and some even of the old

soldiers took to flight. * * The Saiyids of Bárha charged many times most heroically, and towards the close of day they nearly won the battle, through a movement made by Najmu-d dín 'Alí Khán Bahádur. He advanced a battery of guns under the cover of some trees on a hill near a village, and made a bold charge with fourteen or fifteen thousand horse upon the royal artillery, when a fierce contest followed * * At length some of the enemy's guns were taken by the Imperialists, and the Bárhas lost their battery. * * As night came on, Saiyid 'Abdu-llah ordered a small tent to be pitched for him to pass the night in on the field, but he afterwards directed it to be removed. * * When it grew dark, Haidar Kulí Khán pushed forward his guns, and opened so heavy a fire, * * that the enemy fell back, and some went off for refuge to the cities and towns, but most of these were plundered on their way by the *zamíndárs* and Mewáttís * * Out of the 100,000 horsemen of the enemy's army, only seventeen or eighteen thousand held their ground through the terrible cannonade of that night The chiefs and the old Bárha adherents passed all the night hungry and thirsty on the backs of their elephants and horses, for the water was in the possession of the Játs, who plundered friend and foe alike, and no horsemen or footmen of either side could reach the water No one slept, and all the chiefs looked with anxiety for the morning Towards morning a cannon-ball struck the *howda* in which Muhkam Singh was seated, when he jumped upon a horse and fled precipitately. For some time afterwards no one knew whether he was alive or dead. * * When morning came, Muhammad Sháh, who had been sitting on his elephant for eight or nine watches, gave the order to advance. On the other side, Najmu-d dín Khán, with some other brave and devoted Bárha chiefs, boldly came forward They were met by the valiant and trusty men of the royal army, and a hard fight ensued [*Names of killed and wounded*] Najmu-d dín 'Alí, the leading spirit of the Bárha army, received three or four dangerous wounds, and was struck near the eyes by arrows and blinded. When Saiyid 'Abdu-llah saw the desperate position

of his brother, he brought up a party of the Bárha braves to his rescue. Muhammad Sháh, hearing of the fierce struggle that was going on, wished to join in the fight, and give proofs of the hereditary courage of his race, but his attendants prevented him.

The villain Chúráman Ját had several times attacked the (royal) baggage, and killed several men. He carried off nearly a thousand bullock and baggage camels, which had been collected on a sand-bank by the side of the Jumna, with no suspicion of the rascal's intention. He also plundered some other camels carrying provisions and official papers Then he had the audacity to move up in support of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and attacked the royal forces Muhammad Sháh himself shot three or four arrows at him I'timádu-d daula and Hádí Khán, commander of the royal musketeers, discharged their arrows at the accursed wretch

When Saiyid 'Abdu-llah charged with his brave companions to the support of the remaining Bárha Saiyids, they recovered their powers, and fought so fiercely that, notwithstanding the exertions of Samsámu-d daula and other brave chiefs, the royal army began to waver Haidar Kulí Khán and * * seeing how matters stood, staked their lives upon the venture, and charged upon the flank of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah The Saiyid, on becoming aware of what was passing, drove his elephant against Haidar Kulí. * * The attack of Haidar Kulí was overwhelming. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah had often, at the critical point of a battle, followed the practice of the braves of Hindústán, and had descended from his elephant and fought bravely on foot in the sight of many, but on this fated day, when he fought against the Imperial army, he so lost command of himself that, without showing his prowess, he was flurried, and dismounted from his elephant in the hope that the Bárha braves would dismount from their horses and join him (in a charge). Some two or three thousand horse, under the *bakhshi* of the army and other commanders, remained firm, more or less near to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah; but the rest of the army, when

they saw what was passing, fled with Saifu-d dín 'Alí Khán and * * towards Dehlí, leaving the brave Bárhas and Afgháns with the *bakhshi* to their fate

Saiyid 'Abdu-llah received a sword-cut on his hand and a flesh wound from an arrow in the forehead, when Haidar Kulí and his companions, sword in hand, charged upon him. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, exclaiming that he was a *Saiyid*, called for quarter, and Haidar Kulí mercifully made him prisoner Gházíu-d dín Khán kept up the fight for nearly two *gharis* after Saiyid 'Abdu-llah's capture, and then fell back with a portion of the baggage which had escaped the pillage of the Játs and Mughals.

The shouts of victory rose high from the army of Muhammad Sháh, and Haidar Kulí brought his prisoner on an elephant to the presence of Muhammad Sháh, who showed the clemency of the race of Tímúr, spared his life, and placed him under the charge of Haidar Kulí Khán Saiyid Najmu-d dín, who was so severely wounded that there was no hope of his life, Saiyid 'Alí Khán *bakhshi*, and some others, were made prisoners Hámid Khán and some others came over to the royal army in hope of receiving quarter. All the elephants and treasure and *matériel* which remained from the plunderers was searched for and collected

The innocent Sultán Muhammad Ibráhím had sought refuge in the jungle, but he was made prisoner, and brought before the Emperor, but as he had had no choice in what he had done, he received the royal pardon

On Friday, 14th Muharram, intelligence of the fall of the Bárha rule and of the captivity of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah reached Dehlí. His women, of whom he had gathered a large number around him, were in dismay, but a good many of them made the best of the time, and before the arrival of the royal guard, they seized whatever they could, and disguising themselves with old veils and sheets, they took their departure. Some, who were of noble Saiyid birth, threw the sheet of modesty over their heads, and remained in their places.

On the 17th Muharram Muhammad Sháh began his march from the battle-field to Dehlí, before even he rewarded his supporters by augmentations of their *mansabs* or promotions in rank. Ghulám 'Alí Khán had been left in Dehlí with Najábat 'Alí Khán as representative of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Whatever they could get together of *ashrafis* and jewels, they took with them, and went out of the citadel and fortifications, now that the position was changed. Ghulám 'Alí saw that the times were too dangerous for one man to trouble himself about another, so he saved himself and such property as he was able to carry off Najábat 'Alí was a youth of thirteen or fourteen, he was the adopted son of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, and brother's son of him and of Ghulám 'Alí He was made prisoner by some of Muhammad Sháh's men, and conducted to the presence, when he was ordered to be confined with Saiyid 'Abdu-llah

On the 19th, Muhammad Sháh reached the outskirts of the city, and halted there two days for arranging sundry affairs of State He paid a visit to the *dargah* of Khwája Kutbu-d dín, and gave a sum of money to the attendants * * The chiefs and officers who had shown their gallantry and devotion in the battle now received augmentations, and gifts of robes and elephants and jewels, the detail of which would exceed due limits. Haidar Kulí Khán Bahádur Násir Jang received an addition of a thousand to his six thousand, and was advanced to the title of *Mu'izzu-d daula* On the 22nd, Muhammad Sháh entered the capital * * *Saifu-d daula* 'Abdu-s Samad Khán Bahádur *Diler Jang* and Ághar Khán came from Láhore to pay their homage * * In the month of Safar Rája Jai Singh Dhíráj came from his native land, and Rája Girdhar Bahádur from the *súba* of Oude, * * and on the representations of these two, the order which had been given for the collection of the *jizya* from the *zimmis* was recalled, on account of the distress which had been suffered from the operations of the armies, and because grain was dear, and the collection was deferred until the recovery of the prosperity of the *raiyats*, and the settlement of the country

Rája Ajít Singh, *Súbadár* of Ahmadábád and Ajmír, had exceeded his authority by prohibiting the slaughter of cows in his jurisdiction; so Sa'ádat Khán, *Súbadár* of Ágra, was summoned to Court, and sent to punish him; but he begged to be excused. Afterwards Samsámu-d daula, Kamru-d dín Khán Bahádur, and Haidar Kulí Khán, were ordered to discharge this duty Each one accepted the duty reposed in him, and even sent on his travelling equipage, but they all retracted, and did not think it advisable to proceed, especially Samsámu-d daula, who was afraid that it would be a tedious undertaking, and that the royal funds would not suffice It might even cause disturbances in other parts, where men were ill disposed. So not one of these *amírs* was willing to go At this time intelligence arrived that Nizámu-l Mulk had given Rája Ajít Singh a sharp warning So the Rája sent a message professing obedience, announcing his withdrawal from Ahmadábád, and praying for his retention in the *súba* of Ajmír * * Haidar Kulí Khán was appointed to succeed him at Ahmadábád.

Nizámu-l Mulk Minister

[Text, vol ii p. 939.] In the latter days of Rabí'u-l ákhir, 1133 A H. (February, 1721 A D), Muhammad Amín Khán Chín died, after a four or five days' illness. I'náyatu-llah Khán was directed to perform the duties of *wazir* as deputy Letters had repeatedly been written to Nizámu-l Mulk, calling him to Court, for several affairs of State required settlement and the matter of the office of *wazir* waited for the counsel of that master of the sword and pen. Nizámu-l Mulk, having settled the affairs of the Afgháns at Bíjápúr, returned to Aurangábád, and setting out from thence at the end Zí-l hijja, he reached Dehlí in the latter part of Rabí'u-l ákhir Envious detractors had cast aspersions upon him; but the Emperor acted as if he had never heard them, and sent Samsámu-d daula in state to meet him On the 22nd Rabí'u-l ákhir, he entered the city, and paid his

homage to the Emperor. In consequence of the charges brought against him, to record which would be a perversion of language, some days were passed in deliberation, but on the 5th Jumáda-l awwal, 1134 A.H. (8th February, 1722 A.D.), in the fourth year of the reign, he was appointed *wazír*, and received the usual robe, a dagger, an ornamental pen-case, and a diamond ring of great value

Nizámu-l Mulk was anxious to carry out the duties of his office, to maintain the character of the Emperor, and to accumulate funds, without which a sovereign falls into disrepute. But he was unable to accomplish his wishes through the interference of adversaries, who maligned him to the Emperor, and obstructed his authority as *wazír* In particular, Kokí Pádsháh, a woman of great charms and intelligence, colluded with Khwája Khidmatgár Khán, who was said to be one of the Emperor's close companions, and, under the show of providing means and raising funds, they levied large sums under the name of *peshkash* for the Emperor and for themselves This was a great difficulty in the *wazír's* way. Other associates of the Emperor made ridiculous insinuations against Nizámu-l Mulk, which the weak-minded Emperor believed Haidar Kulí Khán, who had firmly established himself in the command of the artillery, meddled with plausible talk in revenue and civil affairs. When Nizámu-l Mulk spoke about it to the Emperor, and he, in a prudent and gentle way, prohibited Haidar Kulí Khán from pursuing that course, the Khán was offended, and asked to be sent to his *súba* Leave being granted, he left a deputy at Court, and set off for Ahmadábád in the middle of Jumáda-l ákhir On arriving there, he seized upon the *jágírs* of several royal servants and courtiers When this was complained of repeatedly, an admonitory *farmán* was sent to him, prohibiting the sequestration of *jágírs* But this had no effect. At length his *jágírs* in the neighbourhood of Dehlí were seized in compensation for those he had resumed at Ahmadábád.

Death of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 941.] Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán died on the last day of Zí-l hijja in this year (1134 A H., 30th September, 1722 A D). It is said that he was poisoned. If so, it is extraordinary that I should have heard from the mouths of credible men the statement that when Muhammad Sháh started on his march against Sultán Ibráhím and Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, he vowed to God, that in the event of his gaining the victory and securing his throne, he would not kill or crush the Saiyid, however great his crimes might be. Nizámu-l Mulk also strove to smooth matters for the Saiyid, for whenever in conversation the two brothers were spoken of, he praised the excellent character of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and expressed his belief in the Saiyid's innocence of the death of Farrukh Siyar. He contended against those who condemned the brothers, and he had forbidden men to designate them in writing as *Namak ba-harám* and *Harám-namak* God forbid that his counsel should have been given for poison! But God knows!

In the course of this narrative, upon certain points the pen has been used to condemn the two brothers, martyrs of misfortune, and this cannot now be rectified, but in atonement I will now write a few words upon the excellence and beauty of character, the love of justice, and the liberality of both brothers What has been said about them, and especially about Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, in the matter of the death of Farrukh Siyar, the acceptance of bribes, the hard dealings with farmers (*sakhti ijarah*), and other bad courses which became grounds of complaint among the people,—these were all attributable to the evil influence of Ratan Chand, his *diwan*, who, having been raised to a position above his capacity, laboured hard to annoy the people. He was also troubled by fortune-seekers and needy adventurers, whose desires he was unable to satisfy Husain 'Alí Khán, before he was appointed to the Dakhin, was exceedingly averse to the exaction of money; but while he was in the

Dakhin Muhkam Singh and other of his officials perverted his nature. But both the brothers were distinguished in their day for their generosity and leniency towards all mankind. The inhabitants of those countries which were innocent of contumacy and selfishness made no complaints of the rule of the Saiyids. In liberality and kindness to learned men and to the needy, and in the protection of men of merit, Husain 'Alí Khán excelled his elder brother, and was the Hátim suited to his day Numbers owed their comfort to the cooked food and raw grain which he gave away At the time of the scarcity at Aurangábád, he appropriated a large sum of money and a great quantity of grain to supply the wants of the poor and of widows The reservoir at Aurangábád was begun by him, and although A'azzu-d daula 'Iwaz Khán enlarged and made higher the buildings and the mosque, still he was the originator of that extensive reservoir, which, in summer when water is scarce, relieves the sufferings of the inhabitants. In their native country of Bárha they built *saráis*, bridges, and other buildings for the public benefit Saiyid 'Abdu-llah was remarkable for his patience, endurance, and wide sympathy.

Mullá 'Abdu-l Ghafúr Bhora, chief of the merchants in the port of Surat, died leaving a *kror* and several *lacs* of rupees in cash and effects. Although he left heirs, Haidar Kulí Khán, who was then *mutasaddí* of the port, in order to show his zeal and his desire to please the Emperor Farrukh Siyar, seized upon all the property, and made a report to Court Just at this time the change of government occurred which has been related, and 'Abdu-l Hai, one of the sons, went to Court to complain, and he stated the case to the two brothers. He offered to pay fifteen *lacs* of rupees for the release of the property, besides the sums which he promised Ratan Chand and other of the officials. The port of Surat was under the jurisdiction of Husain 'Alí Khán. One morning, before the rising of the sun, he sent for Diyánat Khán, who had just been appointed *díwán* of the *khálsa*, and told him that he had gone through a sharp conflict in the night

with the covetousness which the wealth of 'Abdu-l Ghafúr had excited in his heart, but that he had prevailed over his temptation, and had thrown off all desire for the money. The *díwan* therefore was to send for 'Abdu-l Hai, and to remove all claim to the property, and to present him with a robe and a horse, without his having to spend a *dám* or a *diram*, and without having to apply to any other person. [*Other anecdotes*]

The Jats

[vol. ii p 944.] The tribe of Játs, under the leading of the sons of Chúráman, who was lately deceased, had strengthened and armed some forts in the neighbourhood of Ágra The turbulence, disaffection and robberies of this vile class of men in the reigns of Aurangzeb and Farrukh Siyar have been related[1] Sa'ádat Khán, *Subadár* of Ágra, a man renowned for his bravery and determination, although he did his best and showed great resolution, was unable to inflict any real satisfactory chastisement on them, because of the density of the woods and the inaccessibility of the places to which they retired. In consequence of this, Rája Jai Singh Dhíráj was ordered on the service, with many warlike *amírs* of the Mughals of Írán and Túrán, and Afgháns of well-known courage. Fourteen or fifteen thousand horse were assembled under him, he had a strong force of artillery and siege materials, and he received a present of two *lacs* of rupees, a robe and a horse. The Rája began by clearing away the jungle, and then by fighting vigorously and pushing forward his artillery, he pressed the insurgents hard The rebels came out of some of the forts, and taking refuge in the jungle, they made sudden attacks upon the royal forces, and large numbers were killed on both sides. In the course of a month and a half, two forts were closely invested, but by good fortune one of the nephews of the rebel—for they had a quarrel among themselves about their country—left him, and joining the *rája*, acted as guide After the two forts were reduced, the rebels abandoned their chief strong-

[1] See supplement to this article, *infrà* pp 531-3

hold in the night, having set fire to the houses, blown up the powder magazine, and carried off with them all the money and valuables that were portable They left their guns and grain, which, with the fort, were taken possession of by the royal forces. There was a strong report of there being treasure in the fort; but although great search was made, and several places were dug up, not a trace of it was found.

Haidar Kuli Khán

[vol ii p 946] When Haidar Kulí Khán heard of the confiscation of his *jágirs* around Dehlí, he represented to His Majesty, through some of the *amirs* at Court, that although his *jágirs* had been seized, he would not fail in his duty and fidelity. As stated above, censures of these proceedings were repeatedly sent to Haidar Kulí Khán without any effect. At last the complaints of the *jágirdars* and the insubordination of Haidar Kulí passed all bounds, so the *súbadárí* of Ahmadábád was taken away from him and given to Gházíu-d dín Khán Bahádur, eldest son of Nizámu-l Mulk

After the Ját affair was settled, Nizámu-l Mulk left Court on the 2nd Safar, in the fifth year of the reign, to provide for the government of Ahmadábád, and to coerce Haidar Kulí Khán, if he made any resistance When he reached Ágra, some deceitful plausible letters arrived from Haidar Kulí, making all sorts of excuses Nizámu-l Mulk continued his march till he reached the confines of Málwá. From letters which he then received from Ahmadábád, it appeared that Haidar Kulí Khán was very ill, and that he had shown some signs of insanity According to other accounts, it appears that when Haidar Kulí Khán heard of the approach of Nizámu-l Mulk, of his being joined by 'Iwaz Khán and the armies of the Dakhin, and by Bájí Ráo, and other Mahrattas of Rája Sáhú, and of the readiness of his associates in Ahmadábád to recognize Nizámu-l Mulk, he, for the purpose of defeating that general, feigned to be sick, and gave out that symptoms of madness had appeared Haidar Kulí sent his son to the Emperor with a letter, in which he offered his excuses, and

announced his intention of waiting upon His Majesty. Accordingly he set off for Dehlí by way of Ajmír. Nizámu-l Mulk ascertained this fact when he was near the Nerbadda, seven or eight *kos* from Ahmadábád He appointed Hámid Khán to act as deputy *súbadár* of Ahmadábád, and at the beginning of Jumáda-l ákhir turned back towards the capital.

Return of Nizámu-l Mulk to the Dakhin for the second time.[1]

[Text, vol. ii, p 947] When Nizámu-l Mulk arrived at Court, he was anxious, as a prudent minister, to show his devotion and competency in the service of the Emperor, by settling affairs of State, accumulating funds, and putting down disturbances But there was the envy and opposition of the courtiers, especially of Kokí Pádsháh, who would interfere in ministerial affairs, and by receiving bribes and improper gifts, was bringing the Emperor into bad odour. She was strongly opposed to Nizámu-l Mulk. Lastly there was the indifference of the Emperor himself, who made no resistance to the ill repute he was falling into. For these reasons, it appeared to Nizámu-l Mulk that he could not accomplish what was right by continuing to act as *wazír*

Various reasons have been assigned for Nizámu-l Mulk's second departure for the Dakhin; but I will relate the explanation which I have heard from credible sources

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At this time intelligence came to Muhammad Sháh from Persia, of the success of Mahmúd Khán Afghán over Sultán Husain Sháh, the sovereign of Írán It appeared that the territory from Isfahán to Shíráz had passed into his hands; that the people of Isfahán had suffered great hardships, that Sultán Husain had been made prisoner, and that Prince Tahmásp, with the brothers and sons of Sultán Husain, had left the fortress of Isfahán, with the object of raising forces.

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[1] This heading from the Text has been here thrown back one paragraph

One day Nizámu-l Mulk, with the best intentions, told the Emperor that the system of farming the *khálisá* lands was very injurious to the country, and ought to be set aside; secondly, that the bribes which were received, under the name of *peshkash*, were disgraceful to the Emperor and adverse to good policy; thirdly, that the *jizya* upon infidels ought to be collected as in the days of Aurangzeb, fourthly, he recalled the fact that in the days of the rebellion against the Emperor Humáyún, when the realm of Hindústán passed into the hands of Sher Sháh Afghán, the Sháh of Persia had rendered great help and service, and had shown hospitality to Humáyún, when he went towards Persia If the Emperor Muhammad Sháh were now to help the ruler of Persia in repelling the domination of the Afgháns, it would be recorded in history as a lasting honour to the House of Tímúr The Emperor said, "Whom have I got to send on such a service?" Nizámu-l Mulk replied, "Any one of your enterprising officers whom you might send on this service would carry out your orders; or if it should please you to name me for the duty, I would strive heart and soul to accomplish it," and he added some more professions of his loyalty and devotion

When the Emperor consulted with other nobles of his Court on this subject, a party of them perverted the good opinion which the Emperor entertained of Nizámu-l Mulk, and set him against his wise and excellent minister The etiquette of the Court and the discipline of the State had fallen entirely away from the proper dignified standard of royalty, and Nizámu-l Mulk desired that orders should be issued to restore it to a suitable style. This greatly irritated the courtiers—and day by day they made statements about Nizámu-l Mulk which were entirely opposed to his thoughts, and by envious malicious insinuations they poisoned the mind of the Emperor against his devoted servant They put such injurious designs into the head of the inexperienced Emperor against Nizámu-l Mulk, that for the sake of prudence and to save his honour, he at the end of Rabí'u-l awwal, in the sixth year of the reign, got a few days' leave of absence in the

name of hunting, and left Dehlí. Upon the excuse of needing change of air, he went thirty or forty *kos* from the capital to the side of the Ganges. There he hunted and recruited his health.

While he was so engaged, bad news arrived of the disorders caused by the Mahrattas and other insurgents in Ahmadábád and Málwá, the first of these two provinces being held in the name of Nizámu-l Mulk himself, and the other in the name of his son, Ghâzíu-d dín Khán Bahádur. This became the common talk, and Nizámu-l Mulk having written on the subject to the Emperor, received permission to go and restore order in his two provinces * * Before he arrived at Ujjain, the Mahrattas heard of his approach, and taking warning departed from the river Nerbadda towards the Dakhin. The other insurgents also put a stop to their outrages.

Nizámu-l Mulk followed them to the neighbourhood of Ujjain; but when he heard that they had crossed the Nerbadda, he gave up the pursuit and fell back to the *pargana* of Sahúr, near Sironj, in Málwá, intending to return to Court after he had set in order the affairs of that province. While he was thus occupied, important intelligence came from the Dakhin Mubáriz Khán, *názim* of the *súba* of Haidarábád, two years before, at the close of the war with 'Álam 'Alí Khán, came to Nizámu-l Mulk, and made great professions of zeal and devotion Nizámu-l Mulk took an interest in him, and obtained for him from the Emperor an addition of 2000 to his former 4000, the title of *'Imadu-l Mulk Mubáriz Khán Bahadur Hizbar Jang,* [*and other distinctions for himself and his sons*] Mubáriz Khán had served Nizámu-l Mulk faithfully. He now gave out that he had been appointed *Súbadár* of the whole Dakhin, and leaving Haidarábád, he went to take possession of Aurangábád * *

The letters which Nizámu-l Mulk received from Court informed him that his son Gházíu-d dín, whom he had left as his deputy in the office of *wazir*, had been removed, that I'timádu-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán had been appointed *wazir*, and that under the influence of Kokí, bribery had increased.

For these reasons, and for others which cannot be committed to writing, he proceeded from Málwá towards the Dakhin, which country indeed was the conquest of that illustrious general and his ancestors * * At the end of the month of Ramazán he arrived at Aurangábád. He repeatedly wrote to Mubáriz Khán, but the answers which he received were proud and haughty, and made no profession of giving up his designs. Nizámu-l Mulk was very calm and forgiving. He again sent several admonitory letters, reminding Mubáriz of old obligations, and he waited at Aurangábád for two months to see what time would bring forth But the destroying angel had lain his hands upon Mubáriz Khán, and led him towards Aurangábád

Mubáriz Khán was joined by Bahádur Khán, brother of Dáúd Khán Paní, and by others with considerable bodies of men. He had collected large numbers of infantry, and his army was daily increasing This was a great injury to the country, and encouraged the restless Mahrattas. At the end of Zí-l ka'da Nizámu-l Mulk marched out of Aurangábád, and encamped by the tank of Jaswant, near the city He still wrote letters to Mubáriz, to prevent a war, and save the lives of Musulmáns, but his adversary was deluded with the prospect of being *Súbadár* of the Dakhin, and remonstrances were of no avail Mubáriz took counsel with his adherents First he proposed to make a rapid march and fall unawares on Nizámu-l Mulk. Then he proposed to threaten his opponent's flanks, and by a rapid march in another direction throw himself into Aurangábád, and make himself master of the city This plan he endeavoured to carry out. * * On the 23rd Muharram a battle was fought near the town of Shakar-Khera, in Birár, about forty *kos* from Aurangábád [*Long account of the plan and progress of the battle.*] Two sons of Mubáriz Khán were killed, and two were wounded and made prisoners. Mubáriz Khán's elephant-driver received a number of wounds, and fell off the elephant The Khán himself then wrapped a garment soaked with his own blood around him, and drove the animal himself, until he fell dead under the

many wounds he received. Shouts of victory then rose high from the successful army. * * Nizámu-l Mulk next day provided for the burial of the dead, and took especial care that the wounds of Mubáriz Khán's two sons should be carefully attended to. * * He afterwards gave them a large amount in goods, jewels, and stuffs, to set them up in life again.

After the victory, Nizámu-l Mulk marched towards Aurangábád. On his way he learnt that Khwája Ahmad Khán, son of Mubáriz Khán, who had been left as deputy in charge of Haidarábád, had gone into the fortress of Muhammad-nagar, near the city, with his property and goods, and that he had set the fort in order. After a short stay at Aurangábád, Nizámu-l Mulk marched to *Farkhunda-bunyád* Haidarábád, * * and by grant of *jagírs* and other favours, induced Khwája Ahmad to give up the keys of the fortress.

Nizámu-l Mulk had never moved a hair's breadth in opposition to the Imperial dynasty, but in all his undertakings had shed a new glory on the House of Tímúr Now there came to him from the Emperor an elephant, jewels, and the title of *A'saf Jáh*, with directions to settle the country, repress the turbulent, punish the rebels, and cherish the people Under his former rule the troubles caused by the Mahrattas and other enemies had been mitigated, but although Mubáriz Khán apparently did not pay the *chauth* according to the agreement made by the Saiyids, and had shown much activity in punishing the Mahrattas, still their officials, whenever and wherever they found the opportunity, levied the *chauth*, and whatever else they could get, and many of the roads were closed

[Text, vol ii. p 965] When Nizámu-l Mulk was appointed *Súbadár* of Ahmadábád, Haidar Kulí Khán repaired to Court, but he left (as his deputies) in Ahmadábád, Shujá'at Khán and Ibráhím Kulí Khán, two brothers whom he had brought forward in the world, and he also left the third brother, Rustam 'Alí Khán, as his deputy at Surat. * * Nizámu-l Mulk appointed his uncle, Hámid Khán, to be deputy governor of Ahmadábád. * * On

hearing of his approach, Shujá'at 'Alí and Ibráhím Kulí desired to go into the city and oppose his entry, or, according to another account, to obtain promises of safety, and then to submit. There was a continual state of hostility and war between these three brothers and the Mahrattas, and they did not pay the *chauth* Safdar Khán Bání had a bitter hatred of Haidar Kulí Khán With seven or eight thousand horse he joined the enemy, and went to meet Hámid Khán, and persuaded him that the three brothers were resolved upon resistance It happened that Shujá'at Khán, riding on an elephant, met Hámid Khán as he was entering, and he drove his elephant towards that of Hámid Khán A struggle then began, in which Shujá'at Khán was killed Ibráhím Kulí Khán hid himself in his house, * * but he was soon afterwards killed in a party fight * * Rustam 'Alí Khán heard at Surat of the death of his brothers, and his fraternal blood boiled to avenge them. He immediately began his preparations for exacting vengeance

Between Rustam 'Alí Khán and Pílújí, a Mahratta chieftain at the head of ten or eleven thousand men, there had been for a year past a continual state of war, in consequence of a refusal to pay the *chauth*. There had been repeated conflicts, but no decisive action Rustam 'Alí, under pressure of events, made friendly overtures to Pílújí, and after a peace was settled he united the Mahratta's forces with his own Pílújí, on his side, thought that fortune was in his favour, and joined him with his forces * * Hámid Khán, hearing of Rustam 'Alí's preparations, prepared his army and artillery, and he was joined by a Mahratta chief named Kantha, with 12,000 horse. On reaching the banks of the Mahí, a great battle was fought, with a heavy loss of killed and wounded on both sides Hámid Khán was defeated, and his tents and baggage were plundered. He fled from the field to the river-side Rustam 'Alí, having gained the victory, encamped a *kos* or two farther on Hámid Khán won over the crafty Pílújí, and on the next day gave battle again. Rustam 'Alí had lost most of his brave veterans in the fight, but he

prepared to resist. The forces of Pílújí now fell on Rustam 'Alí's baggage, and after some sharp fighting Rustam 'Alí's force was routed, and he himself was killed. The Mahrattas on both sides fell to plundering, and carried off whatever they could from the *bázars* and shops of Ahmadábád and the districts round Baroda

The Emperor Muhammad Sháh, on being informed of these events, sent Sarbuland Khán to be governor of Ahmadábád Nizámu-l Mulk recalled Hámid Khán But although Sarbuland Khán had an army of seven or eight thousand horse, most of whom were veterans, and a strong force of artillery, the Mahratta forces so swarmed in the province that he was unable to settle its affairs or to punish the enemy Their power increased from day to day, and the price of grain rose high Sarbuland Khán was as it were besieged in the city, all that he could do was to wink at and rail against the Mahrattas, for as they numbered nearly 30,000 horse, he was unable to fight and chastise them They ravaged the country round Ahmadábád up to its very gates Many merchants and traders and artisans were so ill-treated and oppressed, that they left their native land, and wandered into foreign parts The country could not repel the ravagers, and in its desolation it was unable to pay the sum required of it for the support of the soldiers, whose numbers were excessive The officers with parties of men demanded their pay, and used violence and insolence in extorting it At length it was arranged that, for the sake of quietness and to stop disturbances, the officers should obtain orders drawn upon bankers and merchants for the pay With these drafts they went to the bankers, seized them, put them in prison, and tortured them until they got the money Bír-nagar was a flourishing town full of merchants of the famous Nágar class, who carried on there a trade amounting to *lacs* of rupees That district, beyond all the flourishing places of Hindústán, abounded in every sort of wealth, gold, cash, and every production of nature, but it was ransacked by the enemy because the *súbadars* were unable to answer the cries of the inhabitants for protection.

When a report of this state of things reached the Emperor Muhammad Sháh, he removed Sarbuland Khán, and appointed Rája Dúngar Singh in his place On his arriving at Ahmadábád, Sarbuland Khán refused to admit him, and prepared to resist him by force of arms So he fled, and for some days no trace was found of him. He did not go to Court, and the Emperor was much displeased with him, so he remained for a long time in disgrace.

This rich province, which no other province of Hindústán could equal, * * was reduced to such a state of wretchedness, that merchants and traders left their native land, abandoned their hereditary dwelling places, and dispersed over distant countries But thanks to the mercy of God, the cries of the oppressed were heard, and the beneficent shade of Nizamu-l Mulk Bahádur Fath Jang Ásaf Jáh was to fall upon it, and to be the cause of its restoration to prosperity

Administration of Nizamu-l Mulk

[Text, vol ii p 972] In a short time the country was brought under the control of Musulmán authorities—it was scoured from the abominations of infidelity and tyranny. Under former *súbadárs* the roads had been infested with the ruffianism of highway robbers, and the rapacity of the Mahrattas and rebellious *zamindars*, so that traffic and travelling were stopped, but now the highways were safe and secure The Mahrattas exacted the *chauth* with all sorts of tyranny from the *jagirdárs*, and in addition to it, ten per cent under the name of *sar-deshmukhi* was collected from the *zamindars* and *raiyats* By these means odious *kamaish-dárs* were removed and changed every week and month, orders beyond all the endurance of the *raiyats* were issued, and annoyances and insults were heaped upon the collectors of the *jagirdárs*. Nizámu-l Mulk so arranged that instead of the *chauth* of the *súba* of Haidarábád, a sum of money should be paid from his treasury, and that the *sar-deshmukhi*,

which was levied from the *raiyats* at the rate of ten per cent., should be abandoned He thus got rid of the presence of the *kamaish-dárs* of the *chauth*, and the *gumáshtas* of the *sar-desh-mukhi* and the *ráhdári*, from which latter impost great annoyance had fallen upon travellers and traders.

Events up to the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of Muhammad Sháh.

[Text, vol ii p. 973] When Nizámu-l Mulk was removed from the office of *wazir*, Kamru-d dín Khán Bahádur was appointed his successor, but a gracious *farmán* was sent to Nizámu-l Mulk, with a robe and other presents, appointing him to the *wakálat*.[1]

After losing two or three children which were born to him in his *harem* and soon died, a son was born of his wife, the daughter of Farrukh Siyar, who received the name of Ahmad Sháh

Haidar Kulí Khán *Mír-i átash* was sleeping with his wife in his *khas-khána*,[2] when it caught fire His wife was burnt to death, and he was so injured before he was rescued, that medical treatment was of no avail, and he died [*Political changes in Persia*]

Conclusion of the Work

[Text, vol. ii p 978] The history of the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Sháh has thus been briefly written up to the beginning of the fourteenth year If by the mercy of God life and leisure are spared to me, the history shall be continued.

Játs

[*The following are the passages referred to suprà*, p 521]

[vol. ii. p 316.] Aurangzeb (in the year 1095 A H., 1684 A D) sent Khán-Jahán to punish and put down the Játs, and to

[1] " *Wakíl-i mutlak*, Lieutenant of the Emperor, or Procurator General."—Briggs's *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin*, p 337

[2] خس خانه A hut made of *khas* grass for the sake of coolness ?

destroy the fort of Sansí, which those infidels had built, under the protection of which fort they every month attacked and plundered several caravans, and ravaged the neighbourhood of Ágra.

[vol ii. p 394] It was reported from Ágra (in 1102 A.H., 1691 A.D.), that under the royal command Ághar Khán was coming from Kábul to the presence On approaching Ágra, the Játs fell upon his train, and carried off some bullocks and carts, and made prisoners of some women Ághar Khán, on being informed of this, pursued them and followed them to their fortress After a display of great resolution, he rescued the women and sent them on their way He then boldly determined to invest and besiege the fort of the Játs, but he was struck by a musket bullet, and he and his son-in-law were both killed Khán-Jahán Bahádur Kokaltásh, who had been sent to punish the Játs and reduce their fort, went upon the service confided to him; but although he exerted himself strenuously, he did not succeed in reducing their fort of Sansí, or their other strongholds His failure and some unseemly acts of his gave offence to the Emperor (Aurangzeb), who recalled him and appointed Prince Bedár Bakhsh to act against the Játs

[vol ii. p 776] Chúráman the Ját was a notorious freebooter His father, his grandfather, and his brothers had ravaged the neighbourhood of Ágra and Fathpúr since the days of Aurangzeb. Armies had frequently been sent against him under Prince Bedár Bakht, Khán-Jahán, and other *amírs*, with the object of chastising him, and reducing the fort of Sansí, which the Játs had built In the days of the struggle between A'zam Sháh and Bahádur Sháh, also when Farrukh Siyar approached Ágra, Chúráman was very bold and daring He plundered the royal train, and carried off much treasure and jewels Rája Jai Singh was sent against him, and Saiyid Khán Jahán Bahádur, uncle of Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, was sent after him in command of a separate supporting force Through sundry obstacles and want of supplies, Saiyid Khán remained inactive

several months near the city, but Rája Jai Singh marched against the enemy, opened trenches, and invested Chúráman's fort. The struggle went on for more than a year There were frequent fights, and many men fell on both sides When Saiyid Khán arrived, the siege was pressed more vigorously, and the trenches were carried closer to the fort. Chúráman, being hard pressed, sent his *vakíl* direct to Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, promising to pay tribute, and to wait in person on the Emperor, if his offences were forgiven and a *mansab* granted to him Rája Jai Singh knew nothing whatever of this; but the Emperor reluctantly agreed to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah's proposals. This was done against the Emperor's will, and greatly to the annoyance of Rája Jai Singh The Rája, greatly vexed, came to Court, and when Chúráman arrived, he was reluctantly allowed to wait upon the Emperor once, but the latter was so displeased with the peace that had been made, that he would not consent to see him again.

LXXX

TÁRÍKH-I IRÁDAT KHÁN

THIS is a good history of the Mughal Empire from the close of Aurangzeb's reign to the commencement of Farrukh Siyar's It has been well translated by Captain Jonathan Scott It first appeared in a separate volume, and was subsequently incorporated in the second volume of his "History of the Deccan," of which the first portion was translated from Firishta.

We are told in the *Ma-asiru-l umara* that the author, Mír Mubáraku-llah Irádat Khán Wáza, was the son of Is'hák Khán, son of 'Azím Khán. Both his grandfather and father were noblemen of high rank The former was *Mir-bakhshí* to the Emperor Jahángír, and the latter held various offices of importance under Sháh Jahán and Aurangzeb He died soon after his appointment to the government of Oudh His title was also Irádat Khán One of his sons (our author) had his title conferred on him, and in the thirty-third year of Aurangzeb was appointed *Faujdár* of Jagna, and at other periods of Aurangábád and Mándú In the reign of Sháh 'Álam Bahádur Sháh he was governor of the Doáb, and the intimate friend of Mu'azzam Khán *wazír* He died in the time of Farrukh Siyar His abilities as a poet were great, and he left a volume of poems behind him.[1]

[The author opens his work with a statement of his removal from the command of the fort of Imtiyáz garh (Adoni), and of his subsequent appointment to the government of Ahsanábád (Kulbarga), and afterwards to the *kila'dári* and *faujdári* of Mándú He left the latter place to follow the fortunes of Prince Bedár Bakht as detailed in the following pages.

[1] This is taken from the Preface to Scott's translation

In his Preface the author says, "During the short period of my age, which has this day arrived at the sixty-fourth year, and the 1126th of the holy Hijra (1714 A.D.), such vicissitudes in worldly affairs, the destruction of empires, the deaths of many princes, the ruin of ancient houses and noble families, the fall of worthy men and the rise of the unworthy, have been beheld by me, as have not been mentioned by history to have occurred in such number or succession for a thousand years.

"As, on account of my office, and being engaged in these transactions, I have obtained a perfect knowledge of the sources of most events, and what to others even information of must be difficult, was planned and executed in my sight, and as I was a sharer as well as spectator of all the dangers and troubles, I have therefore recorded them.

"My intention, however, not being to compile a history of kings or a flowery work, but only to relate such events as happened in my own knowledge, I have therefore, preferably to a display of learning in lofty phrases and pompous metaphors, chosen a plain style, such as a friend writing to a friend would use, for the purpose of information. Indeed, if propriety is consulted, loftiness of style is unfit for plain truth, which, pure in itself, requires only a simple delineation."

The author's account of his work is fair and accurate. The book is written in a plain straightforward style, and it never wanders beyond the sphere of the author's own observation; but it is full of spirit, and has all the vigour and vividness of a personal narrative. Irádat Khán was a good soldier, and was much trusted; and not without reason, for he evidently was clear-sighted, prompt, and energetic, and he possessed great common sense and unusual veracity. In his account of the battle between Jahándár Sháh and Farrukh Siyar he observes, "Every one knows that, after an engagement is once begun, it is impossible for a single person to see more of the operations than those on the immediate spot of his own post; how then, can I say, I distinctly viewed every change of two lines covering ground

of miles in extent? An author once read to Aurangzeb a long account of one of his battles The Emperor observed at the conclusion, that he must certainly have been upon a high mountain during the engagement, which he had seen so minutely, as he himself, though commanding the line, and mounted on an elephant, did not perceive one-third of the particulars he had described"

The following Extracts are taken from Scott's translation, with only a slight change here and there of the wording. The original work is divided into many short chapters, but Scott did not maintain the divisions in his translation. At the end will be found two letters written by Aurangzeb They were translated by Scott, and added as notes to his translation. It is not said from whence they were obtained, but they are very characteristic, and, no doubt, authentic]

EXTRACTS

My attachment and regard to His Majesty (Aurangzeb) were so great, that observing his life drawing to a close, I did not wish to quit the presence * * On the evening before my departure, the Emperor, opening the window of his sleeping apartment, called me to him, and said, "Separation now takes place between us, and our meeting again is uncertain Forgive then whatever, wittingly or unwittingly, I may have done against thee, and pronounce the words *I forgive!* three times with sincerity of heart As thou hast served me long, I also forgive thee whatever knowingly or otherwise thou mayest have done against me" Upon hearing these expressions, sobs became like a knot in my throat, so that I had not power to speak At last, after His Majesty had repeatedly pressed me, I made a shift to pronounce the words *I forgive!* three times, interrupted by heavy sobs. He shed many tears, repeated the words, and, after blessing me, ordered me to retire * *

The Prince Bedár Bakht, being appointed to the government

of Málwá, I paid my respects to him at Ujjain. In a short time such a friendship grew up between us, that a greater between a prince and subject cannot be conceived. He would not be an instant without me he would not eat of anything but he sent me part of it he did nothing of importance without asking my advice, and considered my opinion as religiously decisive In short, the particulars of his favour are beyond relation; but on this account I became envied by all his dependents * *

A'zam Sháh

A'zam Sháh, being informed of the (death of Aurangzeb) by his agents and the nobles who affected to embrace his interest, arrived on the 3rd of Zí-l hijja at the camp at Ahmadnagar * * Many of the chief Imperial servants, as * * had a real attachment to him Some neither loved nor hated him, and a few, though they disliked, yet from inability to oppose prudently submitted to his authority. Three Mughal chiefs only delayed to come in to offer their allegiance—Fíroz Jang, his son Chín Kalích Khán, and Muhammad Amín Khán.

On the 10th Zí-l hijja, 1118, A'zam Sháh ascended the throne of empire amidst the usual rejoicings, and conferred favours on the nobility according to their stations, but on few in a manner affording satisfaction. * * While he was only a prince, most of the nobility were attached to him, and regarded him as possessing every approved quality for empire, but almost immediately after his accession to the throne, the general opinion was altered, through his own conduct He slighted the principal nobility, and betrayed great parsimony to the army, acting as if he had no occasion for their services. This proceeded from a vain belief that none dared to oppose him, and that his elder brother, Sháh 'Álam, relinquishing to him such a vast empire as Hindústán without a struggle, would fly for safety to another clime At the same time he openly declared his jealousy of his own son, Bedár Bakht, whose favour with the late Emperor had displeased him

He treated the old nobility with contempt, and would say publicly that they were not fit for his service

A'zam Sháh proceeded with the Imperial camp towards Ágra by regular stages, taking the route by the *ghát* of Túmrí. * * * The route of Tumrí was hilly, full of woods, and for many long spaces void of water, so that during two days' march, great numbers of men, women, children, and animals perished through want of water * *

Bedár Bakht had the greatest and most sincere affection for his grandfather, who equally loved him * * In obedience to the orders of his father, he departed from Gujarát without delay, at the head of only 3000 horse, his own dependents, and carried with him about thirty *lacs* of rupees in treasure, property of his own, not presuming to touch twenty *lacs* in the Imperial treasury, lest it should raise suspicions of his fidelity in the mind of his father For the same reason, he made not any addition to his force, though he could with ease have raised a great army, and might have procured a *kror* of rupees from the bankers and renters * * On the eve of his march he despatched a letter to me, and several others on his route, but the couriers brought none to hand in due time, the public roads being guarded by officers who had orders to search all messengers and inspect letters * * At length, on the 1st Muharram, the Prince's letters were brought to me all at once, and immediately after I departed from Mándú * * The Prince was moving into Ujjain when he perceived me at a distance, and said to his attendants, "Is not that Irádat Khán that I see?" He stopped his train, and opening wide his arms he cried, "Come, come, my friend! in expectation of whom my eyes have been strained even to dimness"

Bedár Bakht did not enter the city and palaces of Ujjain, but pitched his camp on the bank of the river, at about a *kos* distant. Here he was attended by 'Abdu-llah Khán, the *Súbadár* of Málwá, and continued one month and twenty days expecting the arrival of his father, when that rash prince wrote him the following *farman* "Why have you not hastened on, nor sunk the

boats in the Satlej, to prevent the approach of the enemy? Though he dare not face me, yet you have been guilty of high neglect."

Bedár Bakht, agreeably to the orders of his father, moved towards Ágra, and was joined from the presence by Zú-l fikár Khán, Rám Singh Háda *Zamindár* of Kota, and Dalpat Bundela, also by Amánu-llah Khán, who were sent by A'zam Sháh as much to watch the Prince's motions as to assist him. Mirzá Rája Jai Singh, Khán-'álam, a Dakhin chief, with his brother Munawwar Khán, and other officers, also joined from the presence with about 6000 horse.

Prince Muhammad A'zímu-sh Shán, who had by Aurangzeb's orders left his government of Bengal to proceed to the presence, had reached the vicinity of Ágra when he heard of the Emperor's decease, upon which he marched to secure that city for (his father) Sháh 'Álam * * When Bedár Bakht approached the banks of the Chambal, and A'zam Sháh arrived near Gwálior, A'zímu-sh Shán detached a considerable body from Ágra, under Muhtasham Khán, to guard the fords. Bedár Bakht was fond of enterprise, jealous of his honour, and of high mind, tempered with prudence A rivalship for glory had always subsisted between him and his father A'zam Shah, who was of rash courage, never looked beyond the present in his conduct. Like the whisker-twisting vaunters of Hindústán, if his son made any delay on his march, he would jest and sneer, attributing it to cowardice and dread of the enemy. On this account Bedár Bakht resolved to cross the Chambal immediately, and attack the posts of Muhtasham Khán, but this proceeding was strongly opposed by Zú-l fikár Khán, an experienced general of approved conduct. * * As Zú-l fikár Khán, in the opinion of some, was suspected of treachery, they seized this opportunity to persuade the Prince that he corresponded with Sháh 'Álam, and wished to delay engaging till his approach, in order to complete his designs of desertion to his cause. * *

The day following, suddenly, before morning prayer, the

march for battle was sounded, and the Prince, completely armed, mounted the elephant which he always rode in the day of battle. I speeded to attend him He had moved some distance from the tents before I came up I found him with an angry countenance, uttering contemptuous exclamations and reproachful terms of Zú-l fikár Khán as deceiver, traitor, false wretch and the like, to some servile attendants round his elephant * *

In the difference between A'zam Sháh and his son Bedár Bakht, justice was on the side of the father, for Bedár Bakht was rival to his father, and waited opportunity to dethrone him As for me, I was never in the service of A'zam Sháh, nor had ever made him professions of duty, being wholly devoted to his son Being alone with Bedár Bakht one night, he suddenly threw his arms about my neck, and holding down his head upon my breast said, "If a sovereign and parent seeks the life of a son, and that son is truly informed of his intention, how should he act in self-defence? Have you a precedent for it?" I replied, "Such a question is unnecessary The behaviour of your grandfather to his father is sufficient precedent, and sovereigns are forced to expedients which are not justifiable in other men" Conversation of this sort often passed between us; and one evening he asked me how he might gain an opportunity of seizing his father I replied, "An opportunity will offer thus. When he has gained the victory over Sháh 'Álam, you will be the first to congratulate him The troops will then be separated here and there in search of plunder, or looking after the dead and wounded, and as the tents will not be ready, your father will only be under a *shamiyána* (canopy), surrounded by a few *kanats* (screens) You will be admitted to audience, attended by such of your followers as may have deserved notice for their gallant conduct in action, and at such a time they will be allowed their arms. It is probable that your father will not have many persons with him between the *kanáts*. Then is your time" The Prince eagerly exclaimed, "You have spoken well! Dare you at such a time strike the blow?" I replied that though the act was easy, yet

a sacred oath rested on our family never to shed the blood of a prince unless by chance in battle, if engaged in the cause of a rival, when it would be excusable. I then said, "Your other opportunity will be thus Should the enemy fly, an army will be sent in pursuit, and probably under your command, while your father, setting his mind at ease, will be employed, without suspicion, in pleasure and rejoicing You may return suddenly upon him, and gain your wishes. Should this opportunity not occur, as you are his eldest son and have seen much service, he will certainly appoint you to the government of the Dakhin You will then have a powerful army at your disposal As your father's behaviour is offensive to the people, and many of the courtiers dislike him, they will aid your pretensions Use open force and try for whom God will decide."

Bedár Bakht, having crossed the Chambal at an unobserved ford, the troops of 'Azímu-sh Shán, who were stationed on the banks of the river in another quarter, left their artillery at the various posts and fled to Ágra, happy to save their lives Zú-l fikár, who had advised the Prince to remain on the other side, seeing he had crossed, now came up reluctantly, and congratulated him on the success of his march. * *

Some days after this, A'zam Sháh approaching near, Bedár Bakht moved a *kos* in front, the spot he was upon being chosen for his father's tents, and on the morning of his arrival he went forth two *kos* from the camp to meet him. A'zam Sháh loved him as a son, though from the attention shown him by Aurangzeb he had regarded him as a rival. When he now beheld him after a long absence, paternal fondness for the instant overcame his jealousy, and he received him with strong marks of affection, conferring upon him a princely *khil'at*, etc

Empire having been decreed to Sháh 'Álam, from the agency of destiny, such vanity took possession of the mind of A'zam Sháh, that he was convinced his brother, though supported by the myriads of Túr and Sallam, durst not meet him in the field. Hence those who brought intelligence of his approach he

would abuse as fools and cowards, so that no one cared to speak the truth, as was formerly the case with the Emperor Humáyún during the rebellion of the Afghán Sher Sháh. Even his chief officers feared to disclose intelligence, so that he was ignorant of the successful progress of his rival.

At length Sháh 'Álam, having reached Mattra, sent by a celebrated *darwesh* the following message to A'zam Sháh "By the divine auspices, we inherit from our ancestors an extensive empire, comprehending many kingdoms. It will be just and glorious not to draw the sword against each other, nor consent to shed the blood of the faithful Let us equally divide the empire between us Though I am the elder son, I will leave the choice in your power" A'zam Shah, vain-glorious and haughty, replied that he would answer his brother on the morrow in the field, and upon this the messenger departed A'zam Sháh marched the next morning, and encamped between Jájú and Ágra, on a barren plain, void of water, so that the army was much distressed Intelligence arrived during this day, that Sháh 'Álam was encamped seven *kos* distant, and intended moving on the morrow, but to what quarter was not known

I have already mentioned that my design is not to write the history of kings, but of myself and what I have seen Accordingly, of the battle between the two brothers, I shall only relate such circumstances as I was an eye-witness of

Prince Bedár Bakht, who commanded the advanced corps of the army, having given the necessary orders, began his march * * The main body marched next, in the centre of which rode A'zam Sháh * * We had not yet learned the position of the enemy, or what was the design of Sháh 'Álam Bedár Bakht reached a village, near which was a stream of clear water, and there were some wells also around it The troops at this time were much separated, and every chief, inattentive to order, moved as he chose Seeing which, I represented to the Prince, that the main body was far behind, that the country in front was destitute of water for some miles, and the day promised to be distressingly

hot Without order, without intelligence of the enemy's motions, where would he hasten? I remarked the scattered march of his followers, Zú-l fikár Khán obliqued so far to the left as scarcely to be visible, and other chiefs were equally distant in every quarter. I observed that if he halted here till some news arrived of the enemy, there was sufficient water to refresh the troops, the artillery would come up, the Emperor would have time to join, and order would be restored in the line, also, that should the enemy advance upon him, he would have the advantage of good ground and plenty of water. He replied, "Your advice is just Go and inform my father I shall follow it"

It happened also that Sháh 'Álam had no advice of the route of our army, and as there was but little water where he was encamped, he had this morning despatched his main body under Mun'im Khán, while he, with his sons and personal attendants, hunted along the bank of the river Jumna His *pesh-khana*, with the usual escort, under Rustam-dil Khán, was coming on in front of our army, in the same route as our line

Upon delivery of my message to A'zam Sháh, he replied, "Very well Go and inform my son I am coming up" I returned to the promised place of halt, but what did I behold? The Prince had marched on, and left the village unguarded I speeded after him, and upon gaining the line, saw a joyful scene of congratulation on victory When the Prince saw me, he eagerly exclaimed, "I congratulate you on victory" I replied, "How comes victory without a battle?" Upon which His Highness, turning to a courier, said, "Tell Irádat Khán what you have seen" The foolish wretch then affirmed that he had seen the elephant of Sháh 'Álam without a rider, and with but few attendants, running off to Ágra The Prince then said our left wing had defeated the enemy, and taken all their baggage The cause of this imaginary victory was this The advanced baggage of Sháh 'Álam, falling in with our left wing, was attacked, and, the escort being small, was soon taken. The elephant running away belonged to Rustam-dil Khán, who commanded the escort.

The Prince, however, now ordered me to go and inform his father of the victory * * I declined going, and observed I would not carry intelligence so very ridiculous and groundless Upon which the Prince was angry, and exclaimed, "What do you mean?" I replied, * * "Accidents will happen to the baggage of armies, and this boasted victory is no more Your troops have plundered his advanced tents, but woe to those who have been thus employed! If important work should now offer, they will be useless, confused as they are and encumbered with spoil." To these remarks the Prince angrily exclaimed, "You are always apprehensive and foreboding ill" He then ordered Kásim, the *dárogha* of his *diwan*, to carry the intelligence of victory to A'zam Sháh.

Scarce half an hour after this had elapsed, when a great dust arose upon our right Upon beholding this, I said to the Prince, "Behold the consequence of our victory, and the flight of Sháh 'Alam! Yon cloud precedes at least 50,000 horse" Just as I concluded, another dust arose, which certified a second body of troops approaching I desired His Highness to prepare for action, while yet the enemy was at some distance He then said, "Will you now go and inform my father of the enemy's approach?" To this I replied, "Though I wish not to quit Your Highness's person, yet as I am ordered I must obey," and having said this, I rode off with speed to A'zam Sháh. On my way I beheld strange disorder Amánu-llah Khán, a reputed good officer, who acted as advanced guard to Prince Wálájáh, I met with only two or three hundred straggling horse A'zam Sháh was a *kos* and a half farther in the rear, and his troops were separated into three divisions, so that I could not easily distinguish the royal post, for the train of artillery had been left in the Dakhin For when the commander applied for orders respecting it to A'zam Sháh, he was much enraged, and passionately exclaimed, "Do men think that I will use cannon against a breeder of cattle? I will not even draw the sword, but will bruise his head with a staff"

When A'zam Sháh saw me, he made a signal for me to advance, but such was the crowd I could scarce push through it. At length, having come near to his litter, I alighted from my horse, and said, "The Prince informs Your Majesty of the enemy's near approach. What shall I say?" A'zam Sháh, starting as if stung by a scorpion, with furious looks, eyes rolling, and, as was his custom when angry, pulling up his sleeve, exclaimed, "Comes an enemy to me!" Being vexed at his manner, I replied, "So it appears" He then called aloud for his war elephant, and, in a frantic manner, whirling a crooked staff, stood upright on his throne, and tauntingly said, "Be not alarmed, I am coming to my son" Hurt at this insult to the spirit of my prince, I said, "His Highness is son to yourself, Asylum of the World, and knoweth not fear. He only represents the enemy's approach, that Your Majesty may advance with the troops, and take the post usual for the Emperor in the day of battle" Having said this, I rode off to rejoin Bedár Bakht * * Just as I reached him, a ball struck the breast of an attendant close to his person. * *

The two bodies of the enemy had now approached, and halted within a rocket's flight of our line One of these was headed by the Prince 'Azímu-sh Shán, the other by Mun'im Khán, with whom also were the Princes Mu'izzu-d dín Jahándár Sháh and Jahán Sháh Our line was so pressed upon each flank and in the rear by baggage elephants, cattle, and followers, as greatly to incommode the troops and render them useless Sháh 'Álam's artillery played upon us incessantly, and did great execution, and his sons advancing, fired showers of musketry, which fell like hail * * * At length our troops, grown impatient from the galling of the enemy's cannon, prepared to charge * * I saw Khán 'Álam move towards the enemy with great rapidity. As he advanced nearer the enemy, his followers diminished, gradually lagging behind, and not above 300 stuck by him to the charge When I saw this, I well knew that all was lost. The brave chief, however, penetrated to the elephant

of 'Azímu-sh Shán, and hurled his spear at the Prince; but it missed him, and struck the thigh of an attendant, when the Prince drew an arrow, which pierced the heart of Khán 'Álam, and he died on the instant * * A body of the enemy, under Báz Khán Afghán, now attacked Zú-l fikár Khán, but was repulsed with great loss, and the chief badly wounded, but by the decrees of Providence, Rám Singh Háda and Dalpat Ráo Bundela, on whose valour and conduct most depended, were killed at the same instant by a cannon-shot, upon which their *Rajputs* lost all confidence, and fled with the dead bodies of their chiefs Zú-l fikár Khán, however, yet remained firm, with his own followers, but on being charged by the whole of 'Azímu-sh Shán's division, he left the conduct of the battle to Saiyid Muzaffar, and retired to the rear of A'zam Sháh's post, with Hamídu-d dín Khán, and having dismounted from his elephant, fled on horseback to Gwálior, where he was received by his father, Asad Khán His flight determined the rout of our army

The principal followers and personal attendants of A'zam Sháh now dismounted, and laying their quivers on the ground, sat down to await the charge of the enemy, and sell their lives in defence of their patron Saiyid 'Abdu-llah and his brother, Husain 'Alí Khán, of the illustrious house of Bárha, ever celebrated for valour, whose ancestors had in every reign performed the most gallant actions, if possible superior to their sires, descended from their elephants, and prepared to engage on foot The battle now raged hand to hand with sabres, and there was great slaughter on both sides Husain 'Alí Khán received several wounds and fell down faint with the loss of blood * * At last a musket-ball and several arrows struck the Prince Bedár Bakht, and he sank down dead on his elephant.

A'zam Sháh, though much wounded, was still alive, when a whirl of dust winded towards him from the army of Sháh 'Álam From this now issued with a select band the Princes 'Azímu-sh Shán, Mu'izzu-d dín Jahándár Sháh, and Jahán

Sháh. A'zam Sháh soon received a mortal wound from a musket-ball, and resigned his soul to the Creator of life. The Prince Wálájáh also sank down in the sleep of death I now made my escape to Ágra, not choosing to go to the enemy's camp, where I had many friends who would have given me protection.

Rustam-dil Khán, who commanded the escort of Sháh 'Álam's advanced tents, when attacked in the morning by our troops, finding his escape cut off, paid his respects to A'zam Sháh, and had continued near his elephant during the battle till his death with great firmness Seeing him dead, he ascended the elephant, and cutting off the head of the corpse, remounted his horse and hastened to the camp of Sháh 'Álam With exulting hope of great reward, he laid his prize at the Prince's feet; but the compassionate Sháh 'Álam, seeing the head of his slaughtered brother in such disgrace, shed tears of affection, and gave Rustam-dil nothing but reproaches. He ordered the head to be buried with proper respect, and forbad the march of victory to be beaten. Mun'im Khán took charge of the bodies of the unfortunate Princes, and treated the ladies of their *harems* with the utmost respect and tenderness Though he had received a dangerous wound, and suffered extreme pain, he concealed his situation, and continued on the field till late at night, to restore order and prevent plunder * *

Shah 'A'lam Bahadur Shah

I shall now relate some particulars necessary to be known concerning Sháh 'Álam, his march from Kábul, and other proceedings to the day of engagement with his unfortunate brother A'zam Sháh.

Some time before his death, Aurangzeb had appointed Mun'im Khán to be *díwán* to Sháh 'Álam, who was governor of Kábul This nobleman was of great abilities, active in the cabinet, resolute in execution, and of unbending integrity of mind He soon

arranged the Prince's affairs, which, before his coming into office, were always in confusion, owing to the ascendency of unworthy favourites. * * A superfluous army was kept up, exceeding the ability of the revenue, and being consequently ill-paid, was ever mutinous and discontented * * He diminished the Prince's army, but took care to pay that on foot regularly, so as to leave no room for discontent, or excuse for licentiousness * * When he heard of Aurangzeb's illness, in order to prevent cabals in favour of A'zam Sháh, he circulated a report that Sháh 'Álam would not contend for empire, but seek protection from his brother by flight to Persia Sháh 'Álam had himself indeed made this declaration long before, and with such apparent resolution that it was believed and dreaded even by his sons who resided with him Mun'im Khán related to me afterwards the following anecdote in these words "When I perceived that my attachment, sincerity and abilities had properly impressed Sháh 'Álam's mind, and that he was convinced I was a prudent, faithful, and secret servant, being alone one day with him conversing on the affairs of the empire, I took the liberty of thus addressing him 'It is reported that Your Highness intends flying to Persia, with so much confidence, that even the Princes, your sons, assure me by sacred oaths of its truth.' He replied, 'In this rumour there lies concealed a great design, to forward which I have spread it abroad and taken pains to make it believed First, because my father, on a mere suspicion of disloyalty, kept me nine years in close confinement, and should he even now think that I cherished the smallest ambition, he would immediately strive to accomplish my ruin. Secondly, my brother Muhammad A'zam Sháh, who is my powerful enemy, and valiant even to the extreme of rashness, would exert all his force against me From this report my father is easy, and my brother lulled into self-security, but, by the Almighty God who gave me life' (laying his hand on the Kurán by him), 'and on this holy book, I swear, though not one friend should join me, I will meet A'zam Sháh in single combat, wherever he may be This secret,

which I have so long maintained, and even kept from my own children, is now entrusted to your care Be cautious that no instance of your conduct may betray it!'"

When news of Aurangzeb's death reached Mun'im Khán at Láhore, he wrote immediately by express to Sháh 'Álam, conjuring him to march with the utmost expedition towards the capital, without anxiety or preparation, and he should find artillery and all supplies ready at Láhore. This wise minister then prepared bridges over the various rivers, so that not a day's delay was occasioned in crossing to the Prince's army, which at Láhore was joined by a powerful train of artillery with sufficient draft. He also paid up all the troops, and advanced large sums to new levies. Sháh 'Álam soon arrived in the neighbourhood of Dehlí, and Mun'im Khán entered the city with a select party * * Muhammad Yár Khán, the commander of the palace, was so awed with the *wazír's* gallantry, and the arrival of Sháh 'Álam, that he saw no security for himself but in resigning his charge. He accordingly gave up the palace, in which were the treasures of Hindústán collected from the days of Akbar. * * * Mun'im Khán then advanced with some chosen troops before the Prince to Ágra. * * Bákí Khán, an old Imperial servant, and governor of the fortress which he had refused to resign to 'Azímu-sh Shán, being certified that Sháh 'Álam was approaching, did not choose to resist longer, but sent offers, that if Mun'im Khán would come first alone into the citadel, he would resign the command Mun'im Khán accordingly, without the least distrust, entered over a narrow plank, only passable for a single person, which was placed over a deep ditch from a small wicket to admit him. * * After refreshment, he sealed up the treasury, posted his people at the different gates, and about midnight went to visit 'Azímu-sh Shán, who was encamped at the distance of six *kos*. * * Without doubt Sháh 'Álam's successes, and his attainment of the empire, were owing to the conduct and valour of this great minister.

The sons of Bahadur Sháh

It is now necessary to say something of the four sons of Sháh 'Álam, their dispositions and behaviour, both in public and private Mu'izzu-d dín Jahándár Sháh, the eldest, was a weak man, devoted to pleasure, who gave himself no trouble about State affairs, or to gain the attachment of any of the nobility, as will be seen when I come to narrate his reign 'Azímu-sh Shán, the second son, was a statesman of winning manners Aurangzeb had always pursued the policy of encouraging his grandsons and employing them in public affairs, for as his sons were ambitious of great power, and at the head of armies, he thus prudently controlled them by opposing to them enemies in their own families, as Bedár Bakht to A'zam Sháh, and 'Azímu-sh Shán to Sháh 'Álam To the latter he had given the advantageous government of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa, from whence he had now come with a rich treasure and considerable army, and though in the late battle he had performed great service, yet he was suspected by his father and dreaded as a rival, but to relate the causes would be useless prolixity Rafí'u-sh Shán, the private companion and favourite of his father, was a prince of quick parts, a great proficient in religious learning, a fine writer, and of much knowledge in the law, but at the same time addicted to pleasure, particularly fond of music and the pomp of courtly show He paid no attention to public affairs or even those of his own household Khujista-akhtar Jahán Sháh had the greatest share of all the Princes in the management of affairs, before his father's accession to the throne, and afterwards the whole administration of the empire was influenced by him He had the closest friendship and connexion with Mun'im Khán, who, by his interest, was appointed *wazir*.

Character of Bahádur Sháh. His Court

Sháh 'Álam was generous and merciful, of a great soul tempered with affability, discerning of merit. He had seen the strict

exercise of power during the reigns of his grandfather and father, and been used to authority himself for the last fifty years Time received a new lustre from his accession, and all ranks of people obtained favours equal to, if not above their merits, so that the public forgot the excellences and great qualities of Aurangzeb, which became absorbed in the bounties of his successor Some narrow-hearted persons, however, out of ingratitude and envy, attributed his general liberality to ill-placed extravagance and profusion, but it is a fact that the deserving of every profession, and the worthy of all degrees, whether among the learned or the eloquent, the noble or the ignoble, received an attention from the throne, which prior to this the eye of time had never seen, nor had such been heard of before by the ears of fame His personal qualities and perfections, speech is unable to relate. His valour was such that he had resolved on meeting A'zam Sháh, whose bravery was celebrated, in single combat His four sons, possessed of great power and considerable force, he suffered to be constantly near his person, never giving himself a moment's suspicion regarding them, nor preventing them forming connexions with the prime nobility, upon which subject I, the humblest of his slaves, once ventured to present him a petition of a cautionary nature, thinking it my duty, as I had often done so to Aurangzeb. To what I represented he wrote a wise and just reply He permitted the sons of those princes who had fallen in battle against him to appear at all times completely armed in his presence. The infant children he let remain unmolested with their mothers, while those arrived at manhood daily accompanied him to the chase unguarded, and shared in all his diversions.

His court was magnificent to a degree beyond that of Sháh Jahán. Seventeen Princes, his sons, grandsons and nephews, sat generally round his throne, in the manner following · On his right hand Jahándár Sháh, his eldest son, with his three sons; his third son, Rafí'u-sh Shán, with his three sons, and Bedár-dil, son to his nephew, Bedár Bakht. On his left Muhammad

'Azímu-sh Shán, with his two sons, and Jahán Sháh with his son 'Alí Tabbár, the only surviving son of A'zam Sháh, sat on the right hand of 'Azímu-sh Shán, and a little to the right, somewhat advanced, the two sons of Muhammad Kám Bakhsh Behind the royal Princes, on the right, stood the sons of conquered sovereigns, as of Sikandar 'Alí Sháh of Bíjápúr, and Kutb Sháh, King of Golkonda, also a vast crowd of the nobility, from the rank of seven to three thousand, such as were allowed to be on the platform between the silver rails. How can I mention every particular of the splendid scene?

On the *'ids* and other festivals, His Majesty, with his own hands, gave the *betel* and perfumes to all in his presence, according to their ranks His gifts of jewels, dresses, and other favours were truly royal When in private he dressed plain and humbly, like a religious devotee, and daily, without fail, prayed with many in company Frequently on holidays and Fridays, when travelling, he would read the prayers himself in the great tent of audience, and repeat portions of the Kurán, with a tone and sweetness which captivated the most eloquent Arabians He never missed the devotions of the latter part of the night, and frequently employed the whole in prayer In the early part of the evening he had generally an assembly of the religious or learned men. He himself related traditions (of the Prophet), in the number of which he excelled, as well as in a knowledge of the Holy Law. He had explored the different opinions of all sects, read the works of all free thinkers, and was well acquainted with the hypotheses of each. On this account some over-strict devotees accused him of heterodoxy in his religious opinions, through mere envy of his superior abilities. I heard most of his tenets, and lamented the ignorance of his vain critics, for it was as clear as the sun how just and orthodox he was in his opinions on religious points. But how can I enumerate all his perfections! It would fill volumes to recite but a small part, therefore I will desist

Prince Kám Bakhsh

Kám Bakhsh was a prince of an excellent memory; was learned and a pleasing writer, possessed of all outward accomplishments in a high degree, but there was in his mind a flightiness that approached near to insanity He seldom remained a month in his father's presence, but for some misbehaviour he was reproved, degraded or confined, and some acts were done by him, to mention which would be unworthy of me * * What follies was he not guilty of, from the madness of his mind and the confidence he put in lying visionaries! * * His flatterers having told him that his eldest son would also at some time become Emperor, he became jealous of the innocent child, and frequently meditated putting him to death, but was withheld from that crime by the dread he had of Aurangzeb However, he kept him constantly in confinement, miserably clothed, and worse fed than the son of a wretched beggar, which was worse than death From the same cause, on ill-placed suspicions, he inflicted tortures and uncommon punishments on the ladies of his *harem*, putting many of them privately to death To his servants, companions, and confidants, he often behaved with outrageous cruelty, doing such acts to them as before eye never saw nor ear heard * *

Gházíu-d dín Khán Fíroz Jang.

Gházíu-d dín Khán Fíroz Jang, who had acquired a most powerful influence in the Dakhin, and was chief of the Túrání Mughals, kept on foot a great army He had withdrawn himself from A'zam Sháh, and he was also much in dread of Sháh 'Álam's resentment, because he had advised that Prince's being confined when Aurangzeb was before Golkonda He was an able statesman of long experience, who, though blind of sight, could clearly perceive the mind of man; therefore, whatever wishes he might have to enjoy the honour of making an Emperor, yet he soon saw the follies of Kám Bakhsh, and declined his cause as

ruinous and lost. * * Mun'im Khán Khán-khánán opened a correspondence with Gházíu-d dín, to whom he gave much consolation, assurances of favour, and friendly advice. That experienced statesman, opening his eyes on the vicissitudes of life, saw it was his interest, if His Majesty would forget the past and not molest him in his fortune, to bend his head in submission and retire from business to a life of devotion His only son, Chín Kalích Khán, had long disagreed with him, and his brother, Hámid Khán, whom he had appointed his deputy in command of the troops, had separated from him and gone over to the presence The Túrán chiefs of his household also, when they saw his fortunes on the decline, had left his service All these events made him glad to embrace the promises of the minister and thankfully accept the *súbadari* of Ahmadábád in Gujarát.

Intrigues of the four Princes

The four Princes were constantly intriguing against each other, to obtain influence in the management of public affairs, which occasioned much delay and confusion in business, so that the Khán-khánán thought it happy to steer his vessel safe through four such great seas, and could not act so independently as he wished, being obliged to attend to the capricious interests of others, among which he found it difficult to preserve his own.

Among the remarkable occurrences was the decline of Jahán Sháh's influence with his father, and the rise of that of 'Azímu-sh Shán, of whom till now the Emperor had ever been suspicious. The Prince Jahán Sháh was of haughty and independent spirit, ready to take fire on the smallest neglect. This, with the behaviour of his servants, alarmed and displeased the Khán-khánán, who for his own safety watched an opportunity to destroy the Prince's influence in public affairs: a task of no great difficulty to one well acquainted with the disposition of Sháh 'Álam, almost equally warm with his son, who had more than once displeased him by his behaviour. The Prince upon

this thought to prove his disinterestedness and independence by neglecting to frequent the *darbár*, and engage in business as usual. 'Azímu-sh Shán, who had reaped experience in office, and was well versed in the intrigues of a court, perceiving coolness taking place between Jahán Sháh and the Khán-khánán, paid so much flattering attention to the latter, that by degrees he gained his confidence. This gave still more offence to Jahán Sháh, who had too much pride to expostulate, but neglected the minister in return. He soon after fell sick, and his indisposition continuing a long time, gave 'Azímu-sh Shán ample opportunities of acquiring influence over Sháh 'Álam * * * 'Azímu-sh Shán, having thus gained the credit he aimed at with his father and the minister, employed it in softening the rigour of government against those who laboured under its displeasure; thinking that, thus obliged by his mediation, they would readily return his favours, by embracing his cause, whenever the death of his father should give him a claim to the empire

Death and Character of Khán-khánán

The Khán-khánán [*having invested the fort to which the Sikhs had retreated*], sure of having the *Guru* in his power, gave orders for his troops to cease their attack till the morning should enable him to finish it with success He had, however, unluckily neglected to block up a narrow path leading from the fort to the hills, either because he had not perceived it, or was satisfied that it could not lead but to where the Imperial troops were posted * * During the night the *Guru* changed his dress, and left the fort undiscovered. The Khán-khánán about dawn renewed the attack, and gained the place after a short struggle, sword in hand, exulting in the certainty of carrying the *Guru* dead or alive to the Emperor, whose displeasure at his disobedience of orders[1] would by this service be changed to approbation; but who can relate his weight of grief and disappointment on finding that his

[1] He had been directed not to assault without orders.

promised prize had escaped, without leaving a trace behind him? * * He for an instant lost almost the use of his faculties, which were absorbed in dread of the Emperor's anger, and not without reason. As he was, agreeably to custom after an important victory, beating the march of triumph on his way to the royal tents, orders arrived commanding him to stop the drums, and not dare to enter the presence. He retired, drowned in despair, to his own tents * * * Sháh 'Álam, regarding his former services, received him again into favour after a few days; but this noble and faithful minister never recovered from the effects of the royal ingratitude This grief, added to the pain of seeing three of the Princes and the *Amíru-l umará* using all their arts to complete his ruin, stuck like a poisoned arrow in his breast. He lost all satisfaction in worldly enjoyments, the emptiness of which he now so fully experienced, and from the day of his disgrace declined in health, so that not long after he was reduced to keep his bed, where he lingered a few days, and then resigned his soul to the angel of death (1124 A H, 1712 A D), who never in the uncounted ages of his office seized on a soul more pure and less defiled with the frailties of human nature.

Death of Bahádur Sháh

Sháh 'Álam Bahádur Sháh died on the 21st Muharram, 1124 A H. (18th February, 1712 A.D). * * It happened that one day as Jahándár Sháh and 'Azímu-sh Shán were sitting near his bed, the latter perceiving under a corner of his pillow a dagger of very exquisite workmanship, took it up to admire the jewels with which it was adorned and the water of the blade Upon his drawing it from the scabbard, Jahándár Sháh, jealous of his brother, was seized with a panic. He started up, and retired with such precipitation, that he struck the turban from his head against the door of the tent, forgot his slippers at the entrance, and fell down over the ropes. Being assisted to rise and adjust his dress by his servants, he rode off

to his tents with all the speed and hurry possible. This occasioned much alarm in the camp I met the Prince with his attendants, pushing on his elephant with frantic haste, upon seeing which I endeavoured to pass unobserved; but he knew me, and sent a messenger to call me. As I had previously attached myself to 'Azímu-sh Shán, I did not obey the mandate, but passed on to the Emperor's tents. * * The *Amíru-l umará* called for me, and desired me to send my grandson 'Ináyatu-llah to 'Azímu-sh Shán, to ask him how he could serve him on the present occasion. I sent him, but he returned with a reply laconic and slight as if from a nobleman of high rank to the commander of a hundred, written in the hand of his confidant as follows "As the Imperial servants can know no place of support but this Court, and most have already repaired to it, the *Amíru-l umará* must also pay his duty, with assurance of a gracious reception in the presence." When the *Amíru-l umará* read this, he shed tears, and said to me, with much emotion, "You see the manners of the Prince and his advisers. Alas! the errors of a favourite unacquainted with government often endanger the very existence of his master" * * After saying this, he collected his followers, and moved his tents and effects to the quarter of Prince Jahándár, where he thought his services most likely to answer his own interest * * He had formerly been disgusted with 'Azímu-sh Shán, for preferring to himself the Khán-khánán and Mahábat Khán, and he now swore to assist the three brothers in effecting his destruction, and in making an equal division of the empire and treasures among them.

Jahandar Sháh.

When Jahándár Sháh, by the intrigues and support of the *Amíru-l umará* Zú-l fikár Khán, had triumphed over his three brothers, and ascended the throne of empire, without the fear or dread of a competitor, all the customs of time were changed He was himself a weak man, effeminately careful of his person,

fond of ease, indolent, and totally ignorant of the arts of government. He had also blemishes and vices unworthy of royalty, and unknown among his illustrious ancestors. He made the vast empire of Hindústán an offering to the foolish whims of a courtezan The relations, friends and minions of the mistress usurped absolute authority in the State, and high offices, great titles and unreasonable grants from the Imperial domains were showered profusely on beggarly musicians Two *krors* of rupees annually were settled for only the household expenses of the mistress, exclusive of her clothes and jewels * *

The *Amíru-l umara* Zú-l fikár Khán, seater, nay even creator of emperors, with such a puppet of humanity in his hands, became absolute and filled with pride He studied to ruin the most ancient families, inventing pretences to put great men to death, or disgrace them that he might plunder their possessions Unhappy was the person he suspected to be rich, as wealth and vexatious accusations always accompanied each other He established such exactions and abuses as no prior age had beheld, and by which now he is alone remembered He took enormous emoluments and revenues for himself, while he disposed of money to others with a hand so sparing that even his own creatures felt severe poverty with empty titles, for he never allowed *jagírs* to any. The minds of high and low, rich and poor, near and distant, friends and strangers, were turned against him and wished his destruction Hindús and Musulmáns agreed in praying to Heaven for the fall of his power, night and day. Often does the midnight sigh of the widow ruin the riches of a hundred years.

Kokaltásh Khán, foster-brother of Jahándár Sháh, and brought up with him from his childhood, was honoured with the title of *Khan-Jahan* His wife, daughter, and whole family also possessed great influence with Jahándár, and claimed from him the performance of a promise he had made of the office of *wazír*. At the same time they and their adherents combined to work the overthrow of Zú-l fikár Khán *Amíru-l umara* With this view all their relations and dependents were raised to a high rank, and

a great number of the nobility, distressed by the pride and rapacity of Zú-l fikár Khân, joined their party They insinuated to the Emperor that the *Amíru-l umará* entertained designs too ambitious for a subject, to attain which he would dare to shed the blood of princes; that he had already determined on a revolution, and either to seize the throne for himself, or if he found that too dangerous, to bestow it on one of the confined princes more favourable to his will than His Majesty.

The weak Jahándár, unendowed with the least judgment or courage, was alarmed almost to madness with the frightful picture of his own situation, but he had not firmness to oppose the dreaded evils, nor sense to keep his fears secret The intrigues of Kokaltásh Khán soon became evident to the whole Court, and only served to stimulate the vigilance of Zú-l fikár Khán, who took measures for his own safety by removing his enemies Rustam-dil Khán, Mukhlis Khán, and some others were put to death, and a great number of the nobility cast into confinement on various pretences. The family of the late Khán-khánán (Mun'im Khán) was reduced so low as to want the common necessaries of life In short, the disposition of the *Amíru-l umara* changed altogether from gentleness to the highest pitch of tyranny, so that he now punished with cruelty the persons who had years before, knowingly or otherwise, given him the slightest causes of offence I, who had differed with him in opinions during the life of the late Bedár Bakht, and frequently warned the late Emperor against his aspiring views, had also been the friend and confidant of his late mortal enemy, the Khán-khánán, and of a different party in the late struggle, had not a hope of escaping from his hands, or those of Jahándár Sháh, who had commanded me to be searched for and put to death

Thinking it vain to attempt concealment in Láhore, I wrote the following verses "I am of the family of 'Alí, * * * of the family of which thou art head. look not on me, but upon our mutual ancestors," and sent them to him by my grandson, who

was much in his favour. He invited me to see him, * * * and upon his solemn oath that he meant no injury to me, I went without dread. He received me in his private apartment, to which I was admitted armed as usual, and treated me in every way with much kindness, more than I had expected, after which he dismissed me with assurances of protection. He the same day asked the Emperor's pardon for me, which was immediately passed; but His Majesty observed, that though he forgave, he would not on any account employ me in his service The *Amíru-l umará*, too, made me promise that I would not accept any office in the State otherwise than through his patronage. I complied with this desire without regret, as, independent of the obligations I owed to him, there was no temptation left to court employment in a state which had in fact no head; for the ministry was a collection of petty tyrants and abusers of power.

In the height of his power and authority, all at once a report was heard that the Prince Farrukh Siyar, son to the martyred 'Azímu sh Shan, had marched from Bengal towards Bihár, intending to revenge his father's death and seize the throne. * * Great numbers of the Imperial servants wished secretly for the success of this rebellion Zú-l fikár Khán advised Jahándár not to remain more than a week in Dehlí, but to proceed to Ágra, and if necessary to the eastern provinces, as the dread of his power would not be impressed fully in the breasts of his subjects while Farrukh Siyar refused to pay allegiance. Jahándár Sháh, on his arrival at Dehlí, fascinated by the various luxuries it afforded, forgot the advice of his minister, and chose to remain, indulging himself in low pleasures, moving only from palace to palace, and garden to garden. Kokaltásh Khán and his party persuaded him that the *Amíru-l umará* had excited this rebellion, and had engaged privately with Farrukh Siyar, to whom he would deliver His Majesty a prisoner, should he prevail upon him to march from the capital. These ideas served to increase the fears of the weak Jahándár Sháh He would often exclaim, "I did not kill 'Azímu-sh Shán, it was the *Amíru-l umará*, who

must now go and answer the claims of his son for satisfaction." The other plans of an Emperor who was thus overcome by fear may easily be guessed, and need no explanation The *Amíru-l umará*, offended at the distrust of his master, did not attend as he ought to business, but employed his time also in pleasure, and forwarding his own immediate interest.

Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán Bárha and his brother Husain 'Alí Khán had gained great honour by their behaviour in the service of A'zam Sháh, after whose death they attached themselves to 'Azímu-sh Shán, by whom they were honoured, the former with the government of Alláhábád, and the latter with that of the province of Bihár * * 'Abdu-llah Khán pretended gratitude and obedience for the royal favours in order to avoid further trouble from the Court, but which he had resolved to serve no longer than he found necessary When Farrukh Siyar arrived in Bihár, he was immediately joined by Saiyid Husain 'Alí Khán, who was faithfully attached to him as the son of his patron, 'Azímu-sh Shán.

On the night of the 13th Zí-l ka'da, intelligence was received that the Saiyids had by a countermarch of twenty miles, gained the ford of Gao-ghát, and crossed the river with their advanced corps and all their artillery, also that Farrukh Siyar with his whole army intended to follow next day. * * A little after mid-day the battle began * * Our troops fell back upon the camp, and great confusion took place. * * Numbers fled, but the *Amíru-l umará* stood firm, and the enemy was kept long at a stand by his gallantry and steadiness; but he was ill supported, though Saiyid Husain 'Alí Khán fell wounded in the field, and Chhabila Rám was not more successful in his charge on Kokaltásh Khán It was now about five o'clock, when affairs were thus doubtful; but just then Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán charged Jahándár Sháh, who stood with his troops already alarmed, some distance in the rear of the *Amíru-l umará* They scarce waited to be attacked, but broke their line, and fled in confusion on all sides * * Thus, in the space of a few hours, one government was destroyed and

another became possessed of absolute authority. The robe of empire graced the august person of Farrukh Siyar, who sounded the joyful march of triumph.

Though I was not in the service of any one, I remained in the field till the *Amiru-l umará* had retired, when, thinking it best to provide for my own safety, I entered the city with about a hundred persons who sought my protection. * * In the morning I wrote to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, with whom I was formerly on terms of friendship, expressing my desire of leave to visit him, and to be introduced to the new Emperor. He replied to my letter with kindness, * * and next morning, when Farrukh Siyar entered the city, I was allowed to pay him my respects.

Letters of Aurangzeb.

To Sháh A'zam Sháh.

Health to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age is arrived weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, or for what I am destined The instant which has passed in power hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling (conscience), but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes from futurity are lost. The fever has left me, but nothing remains of me but skin and bone. My son (Kám Bakhsh), though gone towards Bíjápúr, is still near, and thou my son are yet nearer. The worthy of esteem, Sháh 'Álam, is far distant, and my grandson ('Azímu-sh Shán), by the orders of God, is arrived near Hindústán. The camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are like myself, full of alarms, restless as quicksilver Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounties of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me, but when I am gone reflection will not remain Come then what may, I have launched my vessel in the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensably incumbent Give my last prayers to my grandson (Bedár Bakht), whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me The Begam (his daughter) appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell. Farewell. Farewell.

To the Prince Kám Bakhsh

My son, nearest to my heart! Though in the height of my power, and by God's permission, I gave you advice, and took with you the greatest pains, yet, as it was not the Divine will, you did not attend with the ear of compliance. Now I depart a stranger, and lament my own insignificance, what does it profit me? I carry with me the fruits of my sins and imperfections. Surprising Providence! I came here alone, and alone I depart The leader of this caravan hath deserted me The fever, which troubled me for twelve days, has left me Wherever I look I see nothing but the Divinity My fears for the camp and followers are great, but, alas! I know not myself. My back is bent with weakness, and my feet have lost the power of motion. The breath which rose is gone, and has left not even hope behind it. I have committed numerous crimes, and know not with what punishments I may be seized. Though the Protector of mankind will guard the camp, yet care is incumbent also on the faithful and my sons. When I was alive, no care was taken; and now I am gone, the consequence may be guessed. The guardianship of a people is the trust by God

committed to my sons. A'zam Sháh is near Be cautious that none of the faithful are slain, or that their miseries fall upon my head. I resign you, your mother and son to God, as I myself am going. The agonies of death come upon me fast. Bahádur Sháh is still where he was, and his son is arrived near Hindústán Bedár Bakht is in Gujarát. Hayátu-n Nissa, who has beheld no afflictions of time till now, is full of sorrows. Regard the Begam as without concern Údípúr, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death, but every thing has its appointed time

The domestics and courtiers, however deceitful, yet must not be ill-treated It is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art Extend your feet no lower than your skirt The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. Dárá Shukoh, though of much judgment and good understanding, settled large pensions on his people, but paid them ill, and they were ever discontented. I am going Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you Take it not amiss, nor remember what offences I have done unto yourself, that account may not be demanded of me hereafter No one has seen the departure of his own soul, but I see that mine is departing.

LXXXI.

TÁRÍKH-I BAHÁDUR SHÁHÍ.

[This is a small anonymous work extending from the death of Aurangzeb to the accession of Muhammad Sháh, written, as the author states, forty years after the death of Aurangzeb, and therefore in 1747 A D As its title indicates, Bahádur Sháh is its leading subject, and the history of the reign of that monarch takes up about half the volume It is written in a prolix tedious style. The reign of Bahádur Sháh was translated for Sir H M. Elliot by "Lt Anderson, 25th Native Infantry," but there is very little in it which has not been told far better elsewhere A few short Extracts follow There are two copies of the work among the MSS. One is a small 8vo of 138 pages of nine lines each.]

EXTRACTS.

When the news of that "unavoidable event," the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb, reached Dehlí, an extraordinary commotion spread through Hindústán, and wonderful events followed. On the third day after it became known in Dehlí, on the 21st Zí-l ka'da, 1118 of the holy Hijra (18th February, 1707), after sunset and before the cry to evening prayer, such a noise arose on the west as might be taken as a sample of the noise there will be at the day of judgment. If hundreds of thousands of men were to collect together and simultaneously raise the most dreadful shouts, there would be no resemblance to that noise. It exceeds all my powers to describe it. Forty years have passed up to this time, but that strange

noise is still in my ears, and whoever heard it must certainly remember it. The noise lasted for about half an hour, and then subsiding, nothing was heard of it after the lapse of two hours.

On account of the death of Aurangzeb, and in consequence of the confusion in Hindústán, the price of grain in all the provinces remained unsettled. In some places it was more, in others less. Thus in the first year after the death of His Majesty, in 1119 of the Hijra, the price of grain in Dehlí became known to Ásafu-d daula, viz the rate at which it was sold for ready money. Wheat was twenty *sirs* per rupee, barley twenty-seven *sirs*, gram twenty-five *sirs*, *suhkdas* rice ten *sirs*; *dal mung* (a kind of vetch) fifteen *sirs*, *másh* (pulse) eighteen *sirs*, *moth* twenty *sirs*, *'adas* eighteen *sirs*, *ghi* two *sirs*; pungent oil (*raughan-i talkh*) seven *sirs*, red sugar twelve *sirs*

When Bahádur Sháh arrived at Burhánpúr (on his march against Kám Bakhsh), a severe pestilence (*waba*) broke out amongst the royal troops Those attacked suffered from such unnatural heat that they generally died in the course of a week, and those who lived longer than a week, after undergoing great pain and torment, recovered. The army continued its march towards Haidarábád. Twenty rupees was the hire paid to the porters for carrying a sick man for a march of three *kos* Pioneers were sent on ahead of the camp to dig graves, and when the army reached its new camping ground, the tents were filled on one side, and graves upon the other.

At the time the army was marching southwards towards Burhánpúr, Guru Gobind, one of the grandsons of Nának, had come into these districts to travel, and accompanied the royal camp. He was in the habit of constantly addressing assemblies of worldly persons, religious fanatics, and all sorts of people. One day an Afghán, who frequently attended these meetings, was sitting listening to him, when certain expressions, unfit for the

ears of the faithful, fell from the tongue of the *Guru*. The Afghán was enraged, and regardless of the *Guru's* dignity and importance, he gave him two or three stabs with a knife and killed him.

The son of Jahándár Sháh was Sultán 'Azízu-d dín The sons of 'Azímu-sh Shán were Sultán Farrukh Siyar, Sultán Karímu-d dín, and Sultán Humáyún Bakht. The sons of Khujista Akhtar Jahán Sháh were Sultán Farkhanda Akhtar the eldest, the second Roshan Akhtar, afterwards the Emperor Muhammad Sháh; the third son was Sultán Mubárak Akhtar, also called Achhi Miyán The son of Prince Rafi'u-sh Shán was Rafí'-d Daraja. The son of 'Álí Jáh was 'Álí Tabár The sons of Bedár Bakht were Bedár Dil, Sa'íd Bakht, and Hayátu-llah The sons of Prince Kám Bakhsh were Sultán Muhíu-s Sunnat, and Yahyau-s Sunnat. Of the grandsons of Sháh Jahán and sons of Dárá Shukoh were Dárá Bakhsh, Yazdán Bakhsh, and Sultán Sipihr Shukoh

LXXXII.

TA'RI'KH-I SHA'H 'A'LAM BAHA'DUR SHA'H

OF

DA'NISHMAND KHA'N.

[THIS is another history of Bahádur Sháh, but it reaches only to the month of Rajab, in the second year of his reign. It is the work of Dánishmand Khán, already noticed in No. LXXVI (suprà, p 200) The author is best known by his title *Ni'amat Khán*, but in the present volume he calls himself Dánishmand Khán, and tells us that he had received the title of *Mukarrab Khán* in the reign of Aurangzeb It appears also from this work, that he wrote a book called *Badshah-náma*,[1] which was presented to the Emperor, and for which he received an augmentation of his *mansab*. The work is divided into months, and the two years and few months fill 262 leaves of fourteen lines to the page It is written in an ambitious style, and abounds with quotations from the Arabic and of Persian verse]

[1] [Probably the same as the *Sháh-nama* referred to in No LXXVI]

LXXXIII

'IBRAT-NÁMA

OF

MUHAMMAD KÁSIM

This work is sometimes called *Táríkh-i Bahádur-Sháhí.* It is a well-written history, composed by Muhammad Kásim, who describes himself as a dependent of *Amíru-l umará* Saiyid Husain 'Alí Khán. It commences with the death of Aurangzeb, and terminates with the death of *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, the author having accomplished his purpose of writing a history of the times of the two great Saiyids of Bárha. One copy I have in small octavo contains 224 pages of eighteen lines to a page. Another imperfect copy of a work of the same name, and by the same author, carries the history down to A D 1736. The language also occasionally varies, so that it is probable the latter may be a second edition of the former, especially as it seems to be more elaborately got up, and to be written in a more polished style. There are, however, several works known by this name, and there is a later history bearing this title.

The following is a list of the contents, with the number of pages occupied by each chapter:

Reason of writing the *'Ibrat-náma,* 2 pp —Cause of the author's becoming an attendant in the Court of *Amíru-l umará* Saiyid Husain 'Alí Khán the Martyr, 9 pp —Account of the Death of Aurangzeb 'Álamgír, 11 pp.—Happy Accession of Bahádur

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Size of one copy 9½ inches by 7—108 pages of 12 lines each.

[There are four copies of this work among Sir H M. Elliot's MSS.]

EXTRACTS

[The exaltation of the Saiyids ('Abdu-llah and Husain 'Alí Khán) exceeded all conception, and passed the bounds of description They became envied by many of the nobles, and their names were upon every tongue Mír Jumla on his part never lost an opportunity of making malicious insinuations and charges against Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and he especially complained that the Saiyid, in pursuit of his own pleasure, had left all the control of business in the hands of Ratan Chand, who had a maw as insatiable as the nethermost hell for swallowing gold and silver. Against the younger brother *Amíru-l umará* Saiyid 'Alí Khán, it was alleged that his bearing was proud and haughty, unbecoming in a subject. By such insinuations the mind of the Emperor was poisoned Khán-daurán was ostensibly intimate and friendly with the two brothers, but he considered himself one of the most trusted counsellors of the Emperor. He was never absent from Court night or day, and whatever entered his mind, whether exalted or low, pleasant or unpleasant, he imparted to the Emperor. * * It was often proposed that the two brothers

should be seized in the Emperor's private council chamber, and committed to close confiement]

Murder of Husain 'Ali Khan.

[The chief nobles having, according to practice, attended the Emperor to his tents, were returning to their own quarters *Amiru-l umará* Husain 'Alí, unmindful of the designs of his enemies, proceeded to his tents in a *palki*, escorted by seven or eight of his attendants Muhammad Amín Khán, Sa'ádat Khán, and some other of the conspirators, were with him Muhammad Amín resorted to artifice, and pretending to be faint, he wished to lie down on the ground. He was brought round by means of rose-water and musk Thereupon he directed that they should bring to him Haidar Kulí Khán, the commander of the artillery. They ran to fetch that crafty partner in the conspiracy At this time there were only two or three of the attendants and valiant brothers of the Saiyid near his *palki* A man named Haidar Beg, from the station of Muhammad Amín, accompanied by several Mughals, came forward complaining of Muhammad Amín, and desiring to present a petition * * The attendants wanted to take the petition from his hands, but he would not allow them. The *Amiru-l umara* kindly told them to let the man approach. Haidar Beg advanced to present the petition, and as the *Amir* took it, the assassin drew a dagger from his waist, and stuck the *Amir* in the side, so that he rolled out of the *pálki*, and his blood spurted over the bystanders He called out, "Will no one come to my aid?" and as he lay with his bowels protruding, he cried, "Bring me a horse, I will ride" A youth of fourteen years of age, named Saiyid Mír Khán, son of the *Amir's* elder brother Asadu-llah Khán Bahádur, was walking near the *palki*, and as soon as he saw what was passing, he cried out, "Some rascals are killing the *Nawab*!" Then he attacked Haidar Beg fiercely with his short sword, and wounded him in two or three places, stretching him

dead upon the ground beside his victim. The other Mughals attacked the youth, and slew him with many wounds. The murdered *Nawáb's* head was then cut off, and carried to Muhammad Amín Khán, and those who bore it expected great rewards in fulfilment of the promises made to them]

Death of Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid 'Abdu-llah.

[The Mughals at length so worked upon the Emperor by their importunities and artifices, that he consented to the poisoning of the Saiyid.]

END OF VOL VII

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, PRINTERS, HERTFORD